EVANGELION DA-MEPHARRESHE

B. W. Kennett.
1902

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INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

London: C. J. CLAY AND SONS,
CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE,
AVE MARIA LANE.
Glasgow: 50, WELLINGTON STREET.

Leipzig: F. A. BROCKHAUS.
New York: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY.
Bombay and Calcutta: MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD.

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EVANGELION DA-MEPHARRESHE

The Curetonian Version of the Four Gospels, with the readings of the Sinai Palimpsest and the early Syriac Patristic evidence edited, collected and arranged by

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VOLUME II

INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

CAMBRIDGE, at the University Press, 1904.

Cambridge:
PRINTED BY J. AND C. F. CLAY,
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

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INTRODUCTION.

During the greater part of the first nine centuries of our Era the language commonly used in the Valley of the Euphrates and the neighbouring provinces was the dialect of Aramaic which we call Syriac. The literary headquarters of the Syriac-speaking Church was the city of Edessa (in Syriac *Urhâi*), which also had been the centre from which Christianity spread in all that region. The beginnings of Christianity at Edessa are lost in legend, but it is certain that the new religion was well established there before the city was absorbed into the Roman Empire during the reign of Caracalla (AD 216). The political independence of the little state accounts for the early translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular of the Euphrates Valley.

About the year 420 AD the Gospel was extant in Syriac in three forms, *viz*:—

1. The present Syriac Vulgate, now called the *Pĕshiṭṭâ*.
2. The *Diatessaron* of Tatian.
3. A translation of the Four Gospels, called by the Syrians *Evangeliôn da-Mĕpharrĕshê*.

The *Evangeliôn da-Mĕpharrĕshê* (ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܡܦܪܪܫܐ, i.e. 'Evangel of the Separated ones') derives its name by contrast with the Diatessaron, which is a Harmony containing the substance of our Four Canonical Gospels arranged in one narrative. This Harmony, besides the naturalised Greek name *Diatessaron* (ܕܝܐܛܣܪܘܢ), was also called *Evangeliôn da-Mĕḥallĕṭê* (ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܡܚܠܛܐ, i.e. 'Evangel of the Mixed ones').

The main object of the following pages is to trace the history of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, and to determine as far as possible its relations to the Diatessaron and to the Peshitta.

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The *Pĕshîṭtâ* (ܦܫܝܛܬܐ ܣܝܡܐ, i.e. 'The Simple Edition') does not seem to have acquired this name earlier than the 9th century[1]. It is called *Simple* to distinguish it from the later versions of the Old and New Testaments made by Paul of Tella and Thomas of Ḥarḳel, both of which were provided with an apparatus of critical signs inserted in the text. The name *Peshitta* is never used by Syriac writers to distinguish the Syriac Vulgate either from the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* or from the *Diatessaron*, but the term is distinctive, and it is sometimes convenient to continue its use. In the same way we speak of the Latin *Vulgate* as opposed to pre-Hieronymian texts, although the term *Vulgata editio* was originally used by the Council of Trent to contrast S. Jerome's work with the new translations of Erasmus, Beza, and others.

The Peshitta is the only version now used in the Church services. It is so used by all branches of Syriac-speaking Christendom, whether Nestorian, Monophysite, Maronite, or Malkite. This fact alone is enough to prove that its general acceptance is older than the great split between the Nestorians and Monophysites after the middle of the 5th century[2]. In this version MSS of the Gospels are very numerous and a few are themselves as ancient as the 5th century, but they all represent the same type of text, the variations being considerably less important than those exhibited by the better MSS of the Latin Vulgate. There are several editions of the Peshitta New Testament, none greatly differing from the *editio princeps* of Widmanstadius or Widmanstetter (Vienna, 1555): a useful small edition was published in 1880 at New York and subsequently reprinted. A critical edition is now being prepared at the Clarendon Press by the Rev. G. H. Gwilliam, B.D., who has collated for the purpose all the oldest codices: of this edition, the volume containing the Gospels (called *Tetra-evangelium Sanctum*) appeared in 1901.

The wide use of the *Diatessaron* in the early Syriac-speaking Church is undoubted. This work (to quote Dr Wright) "certainly gained

[1] *Pĕshîṭtâ* is the pronunciation according to the 'Nestorian' System, which preserves the older sound of the vowels, as in Talitha and Maranatha. The Monophysites and Maronites say *Pĕshîṭtô*. The word is a fem. adj. in the 'definite' state, agreeing with *mappaḳtâ*, i.e. 'Edition,' but Bar Hebraeus sometimes uses it by itself in the 'absolute' fem., hence the spelling *Peshito*. The form *Peschito* is merely an adaptation to German orthography.

[2] The Nestorian School at Edessa was finally broken up in 489.

great popularity in the early Syrian Church, and almost superseded the Separate Gospels. Aphraates quoted it; Ephraim wrote a commentary on it; the *Doctrine of Addai* (in its present shape a work of the latter half of the 4th century) transfers it to the apostolic times; Rabbula, bishop of Edessa (411–435), promulgated an order that 'the priests and deacons should take care that in every church there should be a copy of the Separate Gospels (*Evangelion da-Mĕpharrèshē*), and that it should be read'; and Theodoret, bishop of Cyrrhus (423–457), swept up more than two hundred copies of it in the churches of his diocese, and introduced the four Gospels in their place: *τὰ τῶν τεττάρων εὐαγγελιστῶν ἀντεισήγαγον εὐαγγέλια.*"[1]

The policy of Rabbula and Theodoret was only too successful. Not a single copy of the *Diatessaron* has survived in anything approaching its original form—that form, I mean, in which it was known to and used by Aphraates and Ephraim. The discoveries of the last twenty years have enabled us to determine with considerable accuracy the order followed by Tatian, but it is only here and there (and generally by way of inference rather than direct testimony) that we can reconstruct the actual text of the *Diatessaron*.

The chief sources of information about the *Diatessaron* now available are :—

(i) *The Commentary of S. Ephraim.*

This work is preserved in an Armenian translation, which has been printed in vol. ii of S. Ephraim's Works (Venice, 1836). A Latin translation of the Armenian was made by the Mechitarist Aucher and edited in 1876 by G. Mösinger, but the passages quoted by Ephraim from the *Diatessaron* are more accurately given in an English version revised by Dr Armitage Robinson in Dr Hamlyn Hill's *Earliest Life of Christ*, pp. 333–377[2].

Some fragments of the original Syriac of S. Ephraim's book, which moreover include a few important readings from the *Diatessaron* itself, are imbedded in later Syriac writers, notably the commentators Îshô'-dâd the Nestorian (*fl.* 852) and Dionysius Bar Ṣalibi the Monophysite

[1] Wright's *Syriac Literature*, p. 9 : for further details, see Chapter 4 of this volume.

[2] Repeated in Dr Hill's *Dissertation on the Gospel Commentary of S. Ephraem*, pp. 75–119. The pages of Mösinger's edition, by which the Commentary is always quoted, are to be found in Dr Hill's margin.

(† 1171). Neither of these somewhat voluminous compilations has as yet been published, but most of the quotations from S. Ephraim have been collected in Dr Rendel Harris's *Fragments of the Commentary of Ephrem Syrus on the Diatessaron* (Cambridge, 1895).

(ii) *The quotations from the Gospel in Aphraates.*

The Homilies of Aphraates were written between the years 337 and 345. In his numerous Evangelical references and allusions he never mentions either the Diatessaron or the evangelists by name, but it is universally recognised that some at least of his quotations are from the Diatessaron rather than from the Separated Gospels. This is notably the case with the rapid survey of our Lord's ministry at the end of Homily II (Wright's *Aphraates*, pp. 41–43).

(iii) *The Arabic Diatessaron.*

This is a careful translation of the Diatessaron from Syriac into Arabic made by the Nestorian monk Ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib († 1043). It was edited from two MSS by A. Ciasca of the Vatican Library in 1888. A Latin translation was given by Ciasca, and an English one is to be found in Dr Hamlyn Hill's *Earliest Life of Christ*, published in 1894. Unfortunately the Syriac text of the Diatessaron from which the Arabic was translated had been subjected to a revision which very seriously lessens its worth for critical purposes.

In its original, or at any rate earlier, form the Syriac Diatessaron was very closely akin in its renderings to the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. The causes which led to this textual resemblance are the subject of controversy, but the fact is undisputed. Moreover the Evangelists were not named in the text of the Harmony. But in Ciasca's Arabic the text is conformed to the Peshitta, and every clause is labelled 'Matthew,' 'Mark,' 'Luke,' or 'John.' In other words the Syriac Diatessaron from which the Arabic version was made had been prepared by identifying the Gospel passages out of which Tatian's Harmony had been constructed, and substituting clause by clause the corresponding passages as given in the Peshitta[1].

The three documents above mentioned supply our main information about the text of the ancient Syriac *Diatessaron*. The *Peshitta*, as has

[1] The Latin Harmony prepared by Victor of Capua, preserved in the *Codex Fuldensis*, was constructed in the same way out of what seems to have been a Latin text of Tatian's *Diatessaron*.

been already stated, is preserved in many ancient MSS, some as old as the 5th century. The third form of the Gospel in Syriac, the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, is represented by the two ancient MSS called *C* and *S* in the following chapters.

Besides these primary authorities we have to reckon with the scattered quotations from the Gospel in the scanty remains of Syriac literature before the second quarter of the 5th century. It is an obviously delicate task to distinguish between quotations from the Gospels and quotations from the Diatessaron, when (as often happens) the wording of the Gospel and of the Diatessaron coincides, and it is only in the case of the *Acts of Thomas* that we can be sure that the writer is using the Separate Canonical Gospels. The quotations have been collected in the present work, and are discussed in Chapter 3.

The main conclusions to which I have been led may be summarised as follows :—

(1) The Peshitta is a revision of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, undertaken mainly with the object of conforming the translation more closely to the Greek text as read at Antioch early in the 5th century. It was prepared by Rabbula, bishop of Edessa from 411–435 AD, and published by his authority as a substitute for the Diatessaron.

(2) The Diatessaron is the earliest form of the Gospel in Syriac. It was made originally in Greek, probably at Rome, by Tatian the disciple of Justin Martyr, and translated into Syriac during Tatian's lifetime, about 170 AD. As might be expected from a document geographically Western in origin, the Gospel text of the Diatessaron is very nearly akin to that of Codex Bezae (D) and the various forms of the Old Latin version.

(3) The *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* dates from about the year 200 AD. It was the earliest rendering of the Four separate Gospels into Syriac, but the translator was familiar with the Diatessaron and often adopted its phraseology. There is great probability that the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* was prepared under the auspices of Serapion, the bishop of Antioch who is mentioned in the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius as having suppressed the apocryphal Gospel of Peter, and there is some reason to identify the translator with Palut, the third bishop of Edessa.

(4) In text, the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, so far as it is a direct translation from the Greek, reproduces for us the Greek text current in Antioch at the end of the 2nd century, a text of great critical value which is often very slenderly represented in extant Greek MSS. But the use of the Diatessaron by the translator has often introduced readings which really belong to the texts current in Western lands. Moreover both *S* and *C*, our two MSS of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, contain readings which have been assimilated to the Diatessaron by transcribers; and further, *C* represents a text that has been partially revised by later Greek MSS.

Codex *C*, *upper part of fol.* 39 r, natural size.

CHAPTER I.

DESCRIPTION OF THE MSS.

Codex *C*.

Codex Nitriensis Curetonianus, called in this book *C*, consists in its present state of 82½ leaves in the British Museum, numbered Add. 14451, and of three leaves at Berlin, forming the fly-leaves of *Orient. Quart.* 528. The British Museum leaves are described in Wright's *Catalogue*, p. 73, No. cxix. The ms came from the great Library of the Convent of S. Mary Deipara in the Natron Valley, west of Cairo.

Later history of C.

The preservation of *C* appears to be the result rather of a happy accident than of reverence for antiquity. Eighty of the surviving leaves reached England in 1842 as part of a volume of the Gospels made up in the year 1222 ad from various mss of the same size; the other leaves of the volume were taken from copies of the Peshitta, and the binder hardly seems to have been aware that the text of *C* was different from the rest. The remaining leaves came to Europe as fly-leaves to strengthen the bindings of other books. The leaves thus used are *fol.* 53, containing Lk ii 48—iii 16; and the Berlin leaves, containing Joh vii 37—viii 19, Lk xv 22—xvi 12, xvii 1–23. Two more detached leaves reached the British Museum in 1847: *fol.* 52, the half-leaf containing fragments of Joh xiv; and *fol.* 72, containing Lk xiv 35—xv 21.

Of the earlier history of *C* we know very little. On the blank *recto* of the first leaf is written in a hand of about the 10th century the following note of its presentation to the Library of S. Mary Deipara :—

ܗܕܐ ܣܦܪܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܗܘ ܕܝܠܗ ܕܡܪ ܗܒܝܒܝ ܕܝܪܐ ܕܥܠ ܕܝܪ ܕܦܐܪܐ ܕܫܝܟ ܒܝܬ ܡܕܪܫܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܥܕܬܐ ܕܣܘܪܝܝܐ ܒܕܝܪ ܣܟܝܛ ܕܐܬܪ ܕܒܗ ܫܡܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܚܝܐ ܕܐܬܦܪܫ ܘܝܗܒ ܠܗ ܗܕܐ ܓܢܙܐ ܪܘܚܢܝ ܕܢܫܒܘܩ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܚܛܗܘܗܝ ܘܢܣܠܚ ܠܥܘܠܗ ܠܥܒܕܘ ܘܢܡܢܐ ܠܗ ܥܡ ܒܪܝܪ̈ܝ ܕܒܚܝܪ̈ܘ ܒܝܘܡ ܕܐܬܐ ܪܚܡܘܗܝ ܠܚܝܐ ܒܨܠܘ̈ܬ ܟܠ ܓܘ̈ܠ ܩܕܝ̈ܫܐ ܐܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ׃

ܒܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܚܝܐ ܗܘ ܕܒܪ ܪ̈ܚܡ ܒܫܥܬ ܕܝܢ ܕܝܠܟ ܥܠ ܚܛܝܐ ܕܟܬܒ ܗܕܐ ܐܡܝܢ׃

"This book belonged to the monk Habibai, who presented it to the holy monastery of the Church of the Deipara belonging to the Syrians in the desert of Scete, that God, abounding in mercy and compassion, for the sake of whose glorious Name he separated and gave this spiritual treasure, might pardon his faults and forgive his shortcomings and number him among His own elect in the day that His mercy cometh to life, by the prayers of all the circle of the Saints. Amen, amen!

"Son of the Living God, have pity in the hour of Thy judgement on the sinner that wrote this. Amen!"

Whether *C* was perfect when it was presented to the Nitrian Library by the monk Habibai we do not know, but there are some indications that it was in a tattered condition before the rebinding in 1222 AD. The table of the quires given below shews a large proportion of loose leaves, and some marks on *foll.* 75 v, 76 v, 77 r, shew that *fol.* 72 was once lying loose between 76 and 77, while at the same time *fol.* 79 was facing 75. The conjugates of *foll.* 77 and 79 are now at Berlin: no doubt they were loose detached leaves when they were used to strengthen the binding of the book in which they now rest.

After the rebinding in AD 1222 a few Church-lessons were marked in the margin, and a misguided person corrected some of the pages containing the Sermon on the Mount to the Peshitta text. But the original reading can in all cases be made out[1].

[1] The only word which presents any difficulty is ܚܕܘ in Matt v 39, where Cureton failed to decipher the original reading and edited ܚܕܐ (the Peshitta reading) between square brackets. In Matt v 41 the word ܐܚܪ has been entirely retraced by this late corrector.

Composition of Quires, &c.

The quires of *C* were arranged in quinions or gatherings of five conjugate pairs. These were originally 18 in number, but two of them are now represented only by single detached leaves and six have altogether perished. The original signatures seem to have been placed at the beginning of each quire on the lower margin, but so near the right-hand edge of the leaf that all have disappeared except that upon x 1 (now *fol.* 43 r), which is signed ܕ. The binder in AD 1222 signed the beginnings and ends of the quires with Syriac letters, so that e.g. the second quire has ܒ on *fol.* 9 r and ܒ again on *fol.* 18 v. The inner leaves of Quire II, now *foll.* 12–15, have been supplied by a late hand from the Peshitta. They are hardly earlier than the rebinding. The last leaf, *fol.* 88, is of the same period as *foll.* 12–15.

Original Quire and Leaf	Present Numeration of Folios	Contents	Headlines [on *verso* only]
I 1	*lost*	[*Fly leaves*]	
2	*lost*		
3	1	Matt i 1—	*Title*
4	2		
5	3		
6	4		ܕܫܠܝ.
7	5		
8	6		ܕܫܠܝ.
9	7		
10	8	—vi 21	ܕܫܠܝ. ܒܣܝܠܝ.
II 1	9	Matt vi 21—	
2	10		
3	11	—viii 22	ܕܫܠܝ.
[4]	[12]	[viii 23—	
[5]	[13]	(*Later*	ܐܒܣܝܠܝ ܕܫܠܝ
[6]	[14]	*supplement*)	
[7]	[15]	—x 31]	
8	16	x 32—	
9	17		
10	18	—xii 29	ܕܫܠܝ. ܒܣܝܠܝ.

Original Quire and Leaf	Present Numeration of Folios	Contents	Headlines [on *verso* only]
III 1	19	Matt xii 29—	
2	20		
3	21		.ܡܬܝ.
4	22		
5	23		
6	24		.ܡܬܝ.
7	25		
8	26		
9	27		
10	28	—xviii 3	.ܡܬܝ. ܩܕܝܫܐ.
IV 1	29	Matt xviii 3—	
2	30		
3	31		.ܡܬܝ.
4	32		
5	33		
6	34		.ܡܬܝ.
7	35		
8	36		
9	37		
10	38	—xxiii 25	.ܡܬܝ. ܩܕܝܫܐ.
V—VIII	*all lost*	[Matt xxiii 25—	
IX 1	*lost*		
2	*lost*		
3	*lost*		
4	*lost*	—Mk xvi 17]	
5	39	Mk xvi 17–20,	
6	40	*then* Joh i 1–42	[*No Headline*]
7	*lost*		
8	*lost*	[Joh i 42—iii 5]	
9	41	Joh iii 5—	
10	42	—iv 10	.ܡܪܩܘܣ. ܩܕܝܫܐ.

Original Quire and Leaf	Present Numeration of Folios	Contents	Headlines [on *verso* only]
X 1	43[1]	Joh iv 10—	
2	44		
3	45		.ⲙⲡⲛⲁ.
4	46		
5	47		
6	48		.ⲙⲡⲛⲁ.
7	49		
8	50		
9	51		
10	*Berlin* 3[2]	—viii 19	.ⲙⲡⲛⲁ. ⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ.
XI—XIV	*all lost, except fol.* 52 *and fol.* 53[3]	[Joh viii 19—Lk vii 33] Joh xiv (fragments) Lk ii 48—iii 16	[*No Headlines*]
XV 1	*lost*		
2	54	Lk vii 33—	
3	55		.ⲕⲁⲧⲁ.
4	56		
5	57		
6	58		
7	59		.ⲕⲁⲧⲁ.
8	60		
9	61		
10	62	—x 39	.ⲕⲁⲧⲁ. ⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ.
XVI 1	63	Lk x 39—	
2	64		
3	65		.ⲕⲁⲧⲁ.
4	66		
5	67		
6	68		
7	69		.ⲕⲁⲧⲁ.
8	70		
9	71		
10	72	—xv 21	.ⲕⲁⲧⲁ. ⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ.

[1] This leaf is signed ⲁ by the original scribe.

[2] *Orient. Quart.* 528, fol. 129.

[3] *Fol.* 53 was probably the second leaf of Quire XIV.

Original Quire and Leaf	Present Numeration of Folios	Contents	Headlines [on *verso* only]
XVII 1	*Berlin* 1[1]	Lk xv 22—	
2	*lost*		
3	*Berlin* 2[2]		.ܩܘܕܫ.
4	73		
5	74		
6	75		
7	76		.ܩܘܕܫ.
8	77		
9	78		
10	79	—xxi 12	.ܩܘܕܫ. ܠܘܩܐ.
XVIII 1	80	Lk xxi 12—	
2	81		
3	82		.ܩܘܕܫ.
4	83		
5	84		
6	85		
7	86		.ܩܘܕܫ.
8	87	—xxiv 44	
9	*lost*[3]		
10	*lost*		

It will be noticed that the headlines are inserted on the verso of the 3rd, 6th and 10th leaves of each quire in S. Matthew and S. John, but in S. Luke they occur on the 3rd, 7th and 10th leaves. This fact, even apart from the preserved signature on *fol.* 43r, is enough to shew that the true order is Matt Mk Joh Lk, and not Matt Lk Mk Joh. No headline occurs on *fol.* 40 v, which (on the assumption that 44 leaves are lost between *fol.* 38 and *fol.* 39) is the 6th leaf of a quire: probably the title to Joh on *fol.* 39r was regarded as an equivalent.

Codex *C* in its original state contained the Four Gospels in the unusual order Matt Mk Joh Lk, the beginning of S. John following the end of S. Mark on the same page. The portions still extant are:—

Matt i 1—viii 22, x 32—xxiii 25^{a}.

Mk xvi 17^{b}–20 *followed by*

Joh i 1–42^{a}, iii 5^{b}—viii 19^{a}, xiv 10^{b}–12^{a}, 15^{b}–19^{a}, 21^{b}–24^{a}, 26^{b}–29^{a}.

Lk ii 48^{b}—iii 16^{a}, vii 33^{b}—xvi 12, xvii 1^{b}—xxiv 44^{a}.

The colophon at the end is not preserved, but a title is prefixed to S. Matthew which will be discussed later in connexion with the

[1] *Orient. Quart.* 528, fol. 1. [2] *Id.*, fol. 128.

[3] The present *fol.* 88 is a late supplement containing Lk xxiv 44 to the end of the Gospel.

colophon of codex *S*. There are no lectionary marks by any early hand or any numeration of chapters, but the text is divided into sections, a new line marking the beginning of each section. At present the text is divided into short sentences by red points, but it will be shewn that these were inserted by a later hand. The writing is a large and beautiful Estrangela, the work of a practised scribe: the freedom with which the curves of the letters are formed points to the early part of the 5th century as the latest date that can be assigned to the writing. The vellum also suggests an early date, as it is very smooth and exceedingly white where not stained or otherwise damaged.

Each page contains two columns of writing, vertical lines for which were ruled in the vellum with a fine point. As is often the case with ancient Syriac MSS, horizontal lines were ruled only at the top and bottom of the columns, and the number of lines in a column consequently varies from 22 to 26. The usual number is 24 or 25. Each leaf is about $11\frac{3}{4}$ in. by 9 in. There are generally only three words to a line. Headings and subscriptions to the Gospels are written in red ink, as is also the first word of each Beatitude in S. Matthew. The sign ⩽ is used in Matt viii 17 and Joh vi 32 to fill up the ends of lines accidentally left blank; in Lk iii 11 the sign ◦ is used for this purpose.

The text of *C* suffered very little from subsequent correction previous to the rebinding in 1222 AD. The words ܗܕܐ ܗܘ ܕܝܘܡܐ in Lk xxii 56 have been added above the line, perhaps by the original scribe, and the word ܐܡܬ 'forsooth' (which is only met with in ancient Syriac writings) has been washed out in the three places where it occurs, *viz.* Lk xvi 11, xx 17, xxii 70[1]. In Joh iv 35 ܗܐ ܫܒܥ (2°) and in Lk ix 12 ,ܡܐܟܠ have been cancelled with small red dots. The word ,ܡܐܟܠ is a mere slip in writing, but ܗܐ ܫܒܥ is apparently correct and should have been left standing. The same remark applies to ܠܐ ܝܕܥܝܢ in Joh iv 32, which has been washed out though it is read in *S* and the Peshitta in accordance with all other authorities.

Several other words and lines have been washed out by the scribe and then written over, owing to various ordinary accidents of transcription, but neither in writing nor in correction is there the slightest trace of the use of a second exemplar.

[1] In all three instances *S* has the word.

The Colometry of C.

The text of *C* is now divided into short sentences by a reddish-brown point, which is placed about as often as a comma or larger stop would come in an English book. At the end of paragraphs the same hand has added larger and more ornamental stops, substituting for the plain point or ·ο· of the original scribe figures such as ⊙·⊙ or ⊙⊙⊙. Where the paragraph ends a line, so that no room for a stop is left, the punctuator inserted ο ο ο ο ο ο between the lines, though frequently there was but little room for this, the original scribe having left no space vacant between the lines except where he intended a paragraph to end.

It is obviously difficult to fix the date of a scribe whose work is confined to mere dots; but a fortunate accident makes it clear that the dots were inserted after the sheets were already sewn, and that the hand was not that of the regular rubricator who wrote the occasional headlines. For the dots are entirely absent from *foll.* 48 v, 49 r (Joh vi 30^{b}–53^{a}). The only mark of punctuation visible when the book is open at this place is a single point at the end of vi 51 (ܒܫܪܝ ܕܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܠܚܡܐ), where the paragraph ends. As soon as the leaf is turned over the points begin again. Now this could hardly have happened otherwise than through careless turning over of two leaves at the same time: in other words, *C* was already a bound book when the punctuator was at work. Moreover he must have written *currente calamo*, with much the same haste as according to the common story the New Testament was divided into verses; we cannot imagine that he would not have found out his mistake if he had been copying the punctuation from another exemplar. Thus the colometry of the Curetonian Syriac represents nothing more than the individual judgement of a reader.

That this reader was not the rubricator of the MS appears from the fact that *fol.* 48 v is one of the pages which has ·ܕܡܫܬܝ· written in red upon the upper margin as a headline. The colour also of the red ink is different, that of the punctuation dots being sensibly browner than the headlines.

The *recto* of the detached half-leaf containing fragments from Joh xiv is also without punctuation, but it appears on the *verso*. The same accident therefore of turning over two leaves together occurred here as well as in Joh vi.

For some reason which I am quite unable to divine the punctuation throughout the whole of the first chapter of S. Matthew has been carefully washed out. The result may be clearly seen in the photograph of *C* published in F. G. Kenyon's *Our Bible and the Ancient MSS*, facing p. 155.

What punctuation was inserted in *C* by the first hand is very difficult to determine, as most of the places where punctuation is natural have been covered by the red dots. A small black dot was generally placed at the end of paragraphs, e.g. at the end of Matt i 23, vi 23, etc.; in other places a slightly more elaborate stop was used, e.g. ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܀ Lk xiii 17; but often no room was left for any stop at all, e.g. in Matt xxiii 14 ܘܐܪܟܐ comes quite to the end of the line[1]. There is a dot by the first hand at the end of the short interrogative sentence in Lk viii 45 (ܡܢ ܗܘ ܕܡܫ ܠܝ ܀), but if we may judge by the pages left untouched by the hand who inserted the red dots, the original scribe of *C* hardly gave any punctuation at all. This is very uncommon in Syriac MSS, but much the same state of things once obtained in cod. B of Aphraates. Besides Lk viii 45, the only places I have noted as having stops certainly by the original hand are ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ Lk xiii 14 and ܘܐܬܦܬܚ ܥܝܢܝܗܘܢ Lk xxiv 31: both instances occur at the ends of lines. On the other hand it is clear that no stop was intended by the original scribe after ܕܚܬܡ Matt xv 38, after ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ Matt xvi 15, or after ܕܫܡܥܘ ܠܗ Lk xxi 27.

In editing *C* I have inserted the dots of the punctuator, as they are on the whole a satisfactory division of the text. But it must be repeated that they have no claim to represent a traditional Old Syriac colometry.

[1] The ∞ ∞ ∞ is here inserted by the later punctuator between the lines.

Cureton's Edition.

Codex *C* derives its name from Dr Cureton, who edited the text in full in 1858. The title of his work is *Remains of a very antient Recension of the Four Gospels in Syriac, hitherto unknown in Europe; discovered, edited, and translated by William Cureton, D.D., F.R.S....:* London, 1858. The three Berlin leaves form part of a MS bought in Egypt by Dr Brugsch the Egyptologist: they were edited by Roediger in the *Monatsbericht der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* for July, 1872, p. 557. A small edition of 100 copies was printed for private circulation to range with Cureton's book by Dr W. Wright.

Cureton's edition gives the Syriac text of *C* with great fidelity. His introduction contains much interesting and curious matter, then to a great extent new and unfamiliar, but now almost entirely superseded by the labours of two generations of Syriac scholars. Cureton's theory that the text of S. Matthew's Gospel in *C* retained to a great extent "the identical terms and expressions which the Apostle himself employed" (p. xciii) attracted a good deal of attention, but gained few converts: it is sufficient refutation to point out that Edessene Syriac is quite a different dialect from the Aramaic of Palestine. The same claim had been advanced for the Peshitta by Widmanstadius in 1555: *Ex quibus omnibus,* he says, *coniecturam non leuem capi posse arbitror, et Mathæum Euangelium suum, & Paulum ad Hebræos Epistolam sermone Syro, Hebraici populi vulgari vsu trito, vt à Iudeis passim omnibus intelligerentur, scripsisse, eaque in Syrorum Ecclesijs iam vsque à temporibus Apostolorum conseruata fuisse* (Preface to the *Ed. Princ.* of the Peshitta, fol. α ******3).

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b. 1808; *d.* 1864.

Codex *S*.

Codex Palimpsestus Sinaiticus is No. 30 among the Syriac mss in the Convent of S. Catharine on Mount Sinai. A description is given in Mrs Lewis's "Catalogue of the Syriac mss...on Mount Sinai" (*Studia Sinaitica* I), pp. 43–47.

Recent history of S.

The Syriac Library at the Convent on Mount Sinai was first explored by Mr (now Dr) J. Rendel Harris and Mr Bliss in 1889, when Dr Harris discovered the Syriac translation of the early Christian Apology of Aristides. In 1892 the Convent was visited by Mrs Lewis and her sister Mrs Gibson, of Cambridge, who saw *S* among the other volumes of the Library. Struck by the antique appearance of the lower writing of the palimpsest, which they knew from the still visible headlines to be a ms of the Gospels, these ladies took photographs of the whole volume. On their return to Cambridge a few of the more legible pages were deciphered by the late Prof. R. L. Bensly and the present writer[1]. Early in 1893 the palimpsest itself was transcribed at Sinai by Prof. Bensly, Dr Rendel Harris and myself; on the same occasion some more photographs were taken by Mrs Lewis, who was also of the party. Our transcript was published at Cambridge in 1894, after Prof. Bensly's lamented death[2]. Mrs Lewis visited Sinai again in 1895, and transcribed some more passages with the help of a reagent: these were published in 1896[3]. In 1897 Mrs Lewis went

[1] It was not always an easy matter at first to discover from what part of the Gospels any given page was taken, and when that was done it was not always a page where *C* was extant and characteristically different from syr.vg. I remember that the first reading we made out where the photograph clearly agreed with the Curetonian against the Peshitta was ܠܐ ܐܬܝ (instead of ܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܗ) at the end of Matt xxiii 23.

[2] *The Four Gospels in Syriac transcribed from the Sinaitic Palimpsest* by the late Robert L. Bensly, M.A., and by J. Rendel Harris, M.A., and by F. Crawford Burkitt, M.A., with an Introduction by Agnes Smith Lewis; edited for the Syndics of the University Press, Cambridge, 1894. I quote this volume as "*Syndics' Edition.*"

[3] *Some Pages of the Four Gospels re-transcribed from the Sinaitic Palimpsest*...by Agnes Smith Lewis; London, 1896. I quote this volume as "*Some Pages.*"

for the fourth time to Sinai, bringing back several corrections, which she published in the *Expositor* for August, 1897, pp. 111–119, and also a series of excellent photographs much clearer than any previously taken. Complete sets have been presented by her to the Cambridge University Library; to Westminster College, Cambridge; to the University Library, Halle; and to the Rylands' Library, Manchester.

Thus the editor of *S* has to take into consideration at least three publications, and he should also consult the photographs. In printing the text I have adopted the rule of silently following the latest published reading; when for any reason another reading is given, the reader is expressly warned in the notes. This chiefly occurs where I have succeeded in correcting the printed text from the photographs; in this way the text of *S* as now given differs in over 250 places from what has been hitherto published. The corrections are registered in Appendix III to the first volume of this work.

When and where the upper writing was transcribed.

The upper writing of the Sinai Palimpsest is dated in the year of the Greeks 1090, i.e. 778 AD (*fol.* 181 v). The determination of the place where it was written is of interest to students of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, as giving some indication of the home of *S* in the 8th century.

In its present state the volume consists of 182 leaves of vellum, including a leaf pasted into the cover; the quires are quinions, except the last, which has six pairs. These quires are numbered doubly, *viz.* with Syriac letters running from right to left and with Georgian signatures running the opposite way[1]. The Georgian signatures were first observed by Mrs Gibson and should have afforded some clue to the place of writing, for it is not everywhere that we come across traces of Georgian communities in Syria.

The contents of the book are chiefly taken up with a collection of twelve Lives of Female Saints. The scribe gives his name three times

ܝܘܚܢܢ ܣܥܪ ܒܝܬ ܡܪܝ ܩܕܝܫܐ (*fol.* 2v)

John the anchorite of Beth Mari the Saint.

[1] Abridged from Mrs Lewis's description in *Syndics' Edition*, p. vi.

ܝܘܚܢܢ ܐܬܚܝܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܡܪܝ ܕܩܢܘܢ ܕܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܡܥܪܬ ܡܨܪܝܢ (*fol.* 165v)
ܩܪܝܬܐ

John the anchorite of Beth Mari Qanon the Saint of Ma'arrath Meṣrên city.

ܝܘܚܢܢ ܐܣܛܘܢܝܩܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܡܪܝ ܕܩܢܘܢ ܕܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܡܥܪܬ ܡܨܪܝܢ (*fol.* 181r)
ܩܪܝܬܐ ܕܐܢܛܝܘܟܝܐ

John the stylite of Beth Mari Qanon, a monastery of Ma'arrath Meṣrên city in the district of Antioch[1].

The natural interpretation of these sentences is that the book was written by a stylite monk called John in a certain monastery at Ma'arrath Meṣrên (مُعَرَّة مصرين), which is a small town in Lat. 36° N, about equidistant from Antioch and Aleppo. This place is mentioned in *Yâqût* IV 574 and in the various authorities for the history of the Crusades, but I have entirely failed to discover any mention of the scribe's monastery. It is curious that ܕܩܢܘܢ does not appear in the sentence quoted from *fol.* 2 v. The natural meaning of ܒܝܬ ܡܪܝ ܕܩܢܘܢ is 'the House (i.e. Convent) of S. Qanon,' but we can hardly suppose the scribe to have accidentally dropped the Saint's name in the first lines of his preface. ܡܪܝ therefore seems to be a proper name. There is a village called Bêt Merri near Beyrout, which also contained a monastery.

But wherever our palimpsest was transcribed, it is certain that it reached Mount Sinai not alone, but as part of a considerable library. In the first place there is a likelihood that all the numerous MSS at Sinai which are either in the Georgian language, or (like our palimpsest) contain Georgian writing, came originally from the same collection. Still clearer is the case with regard to cod. 588 of the Arabic MSS at Sinai, a vellum book containing a *Prophetologion* in Arabic written over various Syriac Apocrypha. One of these fragments appears to have belonged to the same MS of the *Transitus Mariae* (Κοίμησις

[1] I am sure the last word but one is ܕܟܬܐ 'district,' not ܟܘܟܒܐ 'star' (as read by Mrs Lewis in *Studia Sinaitica* IX, p. xxiv, at the suggestion of Dr Nestle). The word occurs at the end of a line, and there is a small gap between the ܟ and the ܬ which I think was left blank by the scribe, ܟ being a letter which cannot be prolonged. ܕܟܬܐ is derived from the Greek and so can be used in the absolute state, e.g. ܕܟܬܐ ܕܐܦܣܘܣ Lk iii 1 *S C*; but ܟܘܟܒܐ ܕܐܢܛܝܘܟܝܐ is grammatically improbable.

Μαρίας) as was also used for this palimpsest by John of Ma'arrath Meṣrên. "This identification rests (1) on the similarity of the vellum, (2) on the probable agreement in size, the leaves of the Syriac Apocryphal text used by John the Recluse having been slightly cut at the edges in order to harmonize with the rest of the volume, (3) on the character of the script, and (4) on the coincidence of the contents[1]." Furthermore this same cod. 588 is a double palimpsest, four leaves of the Syriac Apocrypha being written over fragments of the Third Book of Kings in the Palestinian Syriac dialect[2]. This brings the book written by John of Ma'arrath Meṣrên into connexion with the ancient Palestinian Syriac fragments at Sinai and St Petersburg, which also are in some instances covered with Georgian writing.

It may be permitted, in the absence of certain information, to conjecture the fate of this Library of MSS in Edessene and Palestinian Syriac, in Georgian and in Arabic, to which our palimpsest once belonged. The town and district of Ma'arrath Meṣrên was a portion of the Latin Principality of Antioch granted by Alexius to Bohemund about 1100 AD[3]. But in granting the temporal dominion to the foreign Crusader the Emperor expressly reserved the appointment of the Patriarch of Antioch, who was to be chosen from the Constantinopolitan clergy. This meant the predominance of 'Melkite' influence throughout the Principality; the Monophysite Patriarch had already left Antioch to take refuge in a Mohammedan land, and we may assume that the monks of Ma'arrath Meṣrên were not long in making their submission to Constantinople and Chalcedon. But the one fact which comes out from historical sources about Ma'arrath Meṣrên is that it was continually exposed to the chances of war; it was often raided, often retaken, and must have become more and more unsuitable as a resting place for stylites and anchorites. In the same way therefore as Monophysite monks took refuge in the Natron Valley we may suppose that the monks of Ma'arrath Meṣrên migrated to the great Orthodox sanctuary of Sinai, bringing their books with them. At least there is nothing improbable in the conjecture.

[1] *Syndics' Edition*, p. xvii. The identification is due to Dr Rendel Harris.

[2] Discovered by my friend Mr J. F. Stenning, and edited by him in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, 1896.

[3] *Alexiad* xiii 12.

The original MSS.

John of Ma'arrath Meṣrên wrote his book of Saints' Lives on portions of five older MSS. These are

1. 142 leaves of the MS of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, here called *S*.

2. 4 leaves, containing fragments of the Gospel of S. John, in fine square Greek uncials of the 4th or 5th century.

3. 20 leaves, containing fragments of the *Acta Thomae* in a Syriac hand of the 5th century.

4. 4 leaves, containing fragments of the *Transitus Mariae* (Κοίμησις Μαρίας), in a Syriac hand of the 5th or 6th century.

5. 12 leaves, containing fragments of Homilies in fine sloping Greek unciáls of the 6th century or earlier.

Nos. 4 and 5 were taken from MSS much larger than the others, and each leaf has been seriously cut to make it fit, but the leaves of *S* were very little trimmed when they were written over.

All the leaves not taken from *S* were arranged by John of Ma'arrath Meṣrên in the last four quires of his book, so that we may regard them as a makeshift, resorted to when the supply from *S* was exhausted. The whole of *S* is preserved except 22 leaves, and these 22 include the blank fly-leaves originally placed at the beginning and end of the volume. These leaves and their conjugates are generally the first to go in neglected codices, so that their absence in this instance is not surprising. Probably therefore *S* was taken to pieces for the express purpose of supplying vellum for the existing palimpsest, and consequently we learn that the 22 leaves were already missing in 778 AD—a small number for so ancient a MS. The 12 leaves from the MS of Greek Homilies occupy the final quire, while the other miscellaneous leaves were used to make up the 15th, 16th and 17th quires.

Portions of two leaves of the Greek Gospel fragmeuts have been made out, which formed the outside pages of a quire containing Joh vii 6—ix 23. The text is given in *Studia Sinaitica* IX, pp. 45, 46. In the same volume, pp. 23–44, the present writer has edited eight of the more legible pages of the fragments of the Acts of Thomas. These fragments are at least four hundred years older than any other known

text of the Acts of Thomas, and in view of the importance of the Acts for the criticism of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* itself I add here a complete Table of the three quires of the palimpsest in which the fragments occur.

Quires XV—XVII *of the Sinai Palimpsest*
(*Studia Sinaitica* IX, p. 25)

Quire and Leaf	Photographs	Contents	Pages of Wright's *Apocryphal Acts* (Syriac Text)
XV 1	281, 282	Acts of Thomas	299^{7}—301^{22}
2	283, 284	*Greek Gospel* (Joh vii 6—)	
3	285, 286	*Syriac Gospel* (Mk xiv 64—xv 19)	
4	287, 288	*Greek Gospel*	
5	289, 290	Acts of Thomas	317^{4}—319^{5}
6	291, 292	Acts of Thomas	315^{4}—317^{4}
7	293, 294	*Greek Gospel*	
8	295, 296	*Syriac Gospel* (Mk xii 19–42)	
9	297, 298	*Greek Gospel* (Joh —ix 23)	
10	299, 300	Acts of Thomas	301^{22}—303^{12}
XVI 1	301, 302	*Transitus Mariae*	
2	303, 304	Acts of Thomas	321—323
3	305, 306	Acts of Thomas	185^{6}—187
4	307, 308	Acts of Thomas	305—307
5	309, 310	*Transitus Mariae*	
6	311, 312	*Transitus Mariae*	
7	313, 314	Acts of Thomas	295^{6}—297^{5}
8	315, 316	Acts of Thomas	198^{20}—202^{16} (*sic*)
9	317, 318	Acts of Thomas	311^{8}—313^{5}
10	319, 320	*Transitus Mariae*	
XVII 1	321, 322	Acts of Thomas	209—211^{15}
2	323, 324	Acts of Thomas	297^{5}—299^{6}
3	325, 326	Acts of Thomas	309^{7}—311^{8}
4	327, 328	Acts of Thomas	253^{14}—255^{13}
5	329, 330	Acts of Thomas	319^{5}—321
6	331, 332	Acts of Thomas	313^{5}—315^{4}
7	333, 334	Acts of Thomas	237—239^{11}
8	335, 336	Acts of Thomas	323—325
9	337, 338	Acts of Thomas	303^{12}—305
10	339, 340	Acts of Thomas	211^{15}—213
XVIII 1—12	341—364	*Greek Homilies* (*still unidentified*)	

We come at last to *S* itself, the MS of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe.* In its original form *S* was a vellum codex consisting of 166 leaves, on which were written the Four Gospels in the usual order Matt Mk Lk Joh. The following Table shews the original arrangement, together with the numeration of Mrs Lewis's photographs[1], which follows the paging of the MS as it now is.

The original composition of S.

Ancient Quire and Leaf		Contents	Photographs (and pp. of MS)
I 1		*	*missing*
2		*	*missing*
3		Matt i 1—17	163, 164
4		i 17—ii 15	112, 111
5		ii 15—iii 17	83, 84
6		iii 17—v 1	97, 98
7		v 1—26	110, 109
8		v 26—vi 10	177, 178
9		[vi 10—	*missing*
10	[ל]	—viii 3]	*missing*
II 1	ל	Matt viii 3—30	20, 19
2		viii 30—ix 23	149, 150
3		ix 23—x 15	229, 230
4		x 15—xi 1	74, 73
5		xi 1—30	192, 191
6		xii 1—31	190, 189
7		xii 31—xiii 5	68, 67
8		xiii 6—31	231, 232
9		xiii 31—xiv 1	151, 152
10		xiv 1—31	2, 1
III 1		Matt xiv 31—xv 27	47, 48
2		xv 27—xvi 15	61, 62
3		[xvi 15—xvii 11]	*missing*
4		xvii 11—xviii 8	141, 142
5		xviii 9—xix 3	34, 33
6		xix 3—28	28, 27
7		xix 28—xx 24	159, 160
8		[xx 24—xxi 20]	*missing*
9		xxi 20—43	79, 80
10	ב	xxi 43—xxii 27	53, 54

[1] See above, p. 18.

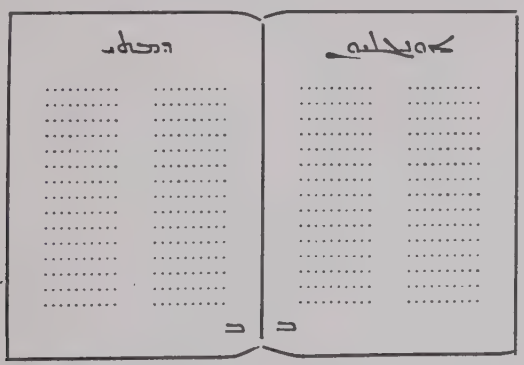
Ancient Quire and Leaf		Contents	Photographs (and pp. of MS)
IV 1	ב	Matt xxii 27—xxiii 15	89, 90
2		xxiii 15—xxiv 2	269, 270
3		xxiv 2—31	225, 226
4		xxiv 31—xxv 12	200, 199
5		xxv 12—37	147, 148
6		xxv 37—xxvi 17	153, 154
7		xxvi 17—44	182, 181
8		xxvi 44—67	235, 236
9		xxvi 67—xxvii 19	271, 272
10		xxvii 20—47	91, 92
V 1		Matt xxvii 47—xxviii 7	267, 268
2		[xxviii 7—Mark i 12]	*missing*
3		Mark i 12—44	60, 59
4		[i 44—ii 21]	*missing*
5		ii 21—iii 21	201, 202
6		iii 21—iv 17	219, 220
7		[iv 17—41]	*missing*
8		iv 41—v 26	42, 41
9		[v 26—vi 5]	*missing*
10	ל	vi 5—28	273, 274
VI 1	ל	Mark vi 28—54	106, 105
2		vi 54—vii 23	49, 50
3		vii 23—viii 14	81, 82
4		viii 14—38	187, 188
5		viii 38—ix 25	193, 194
6		ix 25—x 2	99, 100
7		x 2—27	51, 52
8		x 27—xi 1	116, 115
VII 1		Mark xi 1—27	56, 55
2		xi 27—xii 19	128, 127
3		xii 19—42	296, 295
4		xii 42—xiii 23	96, 95
5		xiii 24—xiv 10	23, 24
6		xiv 10—36	37, 38
7		xiv 36—63	86, 85
8		xiv 64—xv 19	286, 285
9		xv 19—47	134, 133
10	ר	xvi 1—Luke i 16	46, 45

Ancient Quire and Leaf		Contents	Photographs (and pp. of MS)
VIII 1	[ג]	Luke [i 16—38]	*missing*
2		i 38—73	183, 184
3		i 73—ii 18	276, 275
4		ii 18—40	157, 158
5		ii 40—iii 9	101, 102
6		iii 9—iv 1	119, 120
7		iv 1—26	143, 144
8		iv 26—v 6	266, 265
9		v 6—28	197, 198
10		[v 28—vi 11]	*missing*
IX 1		Luke vi 12—35	214, 213
2		vi 35—vii 6	94, 93
3		vii 7—28	205, 206
4		vii 28—viii 1	7, 8
5		viii 1—22	3, 4
6		viii 22—40	17, 18
7		viii 40—ix 6	13, 14
8		ix 6—27	215, 216
9		ix 27—49	88, 87
10	ד	ix 49—x 11	208, 207
X 1	[ה]	Luke x 11—33	243, 244
2		x 33—xi 13	9, 10
3		xi 13—32	125, 126
4		xi 32—52	132, 131
5		xi 52—xii 21	221, 222
6		xii 21—42	239, 240
7		xii 42—xiii 3	130, 129
8		xiii 3—22	135, 136
9		xiii 22—xiv 5	11, 12
10		xiv 5—23	257, 258
XI 1		Luke xiv 24—xv 12	103, 104
2		xv 13—xvi 2	162, 161
3		xvi 2—21	25, 26
4		xvi 21—xvii 9	65, 66
5		xvii 9—33	176, 175
6		xvii 33—xviii 16	166, 165
7		xviii 17—40	75, 76
8		xviii 40—xix 22	35, 36
9		xix 22—45	180, 179
10	[ו]	xix 45—xx 21	117, 118

Ancient Quire and Leaf		Contents	Photographs (and pp. of MS)
XII 1	[ϙ]	Luke xx 21—44	58, 57
2		xx 44—xxi 23	241, 242
3		xxi 23—xxii 8	169, 170
4		xxii 8—34	174, 173
5		xxii 34—59	78, 77
6		xxii 59—xxiii 14	64, 63
7		xxiii 14—38	168, 167
8		xxiii 38—xxiv 5	171, 172
9		xxiv 5—26	259, 260
10		xxiv 26—fin.	44, 43
XIII 1		John [i 1—25]	*missing*
2		i 25—47	203, 204
3		[i 47—ii 15]	*missing*
4		ii 16—iii 11	280, 279
5		iii 11—31	185, 186
6		iii 31—iv 15	195, 196
7		iv 15—37	262, 261
8		[iv 38—v 6]	*missing*
9		v 6—25	217, 218
10	[ι]	[v 25—46]	*missing*
XIV 1	[ι]	John v 46—vi 19	124, 123
2		vi 20—44	245, 246
3		vi 44—69	249, 250
4		vi 69—vii 21	247, 248
5		vii 21—39	32, 31
6		vii 39—viii 21	30, 29
7		viii 21—41	253, 254
8		viii 41—ix 1	251, 252
9		ix 1—21	255, 256
10		ix 21—x 1	138, 137
XV 1		John x 1—23	145, 146
2		x 23—xi 5	209, 210
3		xi 5—31	107, 108
4		xi 31—48	121, 122
5		xi 48—xii 7	139, 140
6		xii 7—28	113, 114
7		xii 28—49	211, 212
8	[ϡ]	xii 49—xiii 18	155, 156

Ancient Quire and Leaf		Contents	Photographs (and pp. of MS)
XVI 1	[ג]	John xiii 19—xiv 1	21, 22
2		xiv 1—24	5, 6
3		xiv 24—xv 15	233, 234
4		xv 15—xvi 10	238, 237
5		xvi 10—32	224, 223
6		xvi 32—xvii 20	227, 228
7		xvii 20—xviii [24]	15, 16
8		xviii 14—31	39, 40
XVII 1		John [xviii 31—	*missing*
2		—	*missing*
3		— xix 40]	*missing*
4		xix 40—xx 17	263, 264
5		xx 17—xxi 2	69, 70
6		xxi 2—17	71, 72
7		xxi 17—fin.	277, 278
8		*	*missing*
9		*	*missing*
10	[ה]	*	*missing*

A Table similar to the preceding is given in the Syndics' Edition, pp. xxx ff., but at that time not enough of the original signatures had been found to make clear upon what system they were inserted. The system actually employed is very curious. Instead of signing the first quire with א, the second with ב, and so on, either uniformly at the end or uniformly at the beginning of a quire, the scribe signed Quire 1 at the end with א and Quire 2 at the beginning with א, Quire 3 at the end with ב and Quire 4 at the beginning with ב, and so on. The signatures are in each case placed in the inner corner of the lower margin, thus :



first leaf of Quire 4 *last leaf of Quire* 3

In the Table I have indicated all the places where signatures ought to occur, adding square brackets where the letter is not actually visible in the photograph.

In general appearance *S* is not unlike *C*. There is no title at all prefixed to S. Matthew: at least no reagent used has brought up even the faintest indication of a letter[1]. The writing begins on a *verso*, and the *recto* of that leaf (Photograph 163) was absolutely blank. At the end of S. John there is a colophon written by the original scribe, followed by a note in another almost contemporary hand, now unfortunately illegible: these will be discussed later in connexion with the heading to S. Matthew in *C*. There are no lectionary marks in *S* nor any numeration of chapters, but as in *C* the text is divided into sections, each section beginning with a new line. In many places the original hand has marked the end of sentences and even single clauses with a small point, but it is evident that this punctuation was somewhat irregular, even when due allowance is made for the loss of detached dots under the upper writing of the palimpsest. The writing is a very beautiful Estrangela, even more rapidly formed than that of *C*: it cannot be later than the beginning of the 5th century and is not inconsistent with an earlier date still. The vellum is now somewhat crinkled and in places rather brittle, partly owing to the washing process undergone in preparing the leaves to receive the later writing, partly owing to assiduous thumbing by readers of the lives of Female Saints. The washing process must have made the detached sheets of vellum quite limp, as in six instances (VI 1, 8; VII 2, 9; VIII 4, 7; XI 2, 9; XIV 1, 10; XVI 3, 6) the conjugate leaves are now folded the reverse way. On one or two pages the surface has a tendency to scale off[2].

Each page contains two columns of writing, vertical lines for which were ruled with a stylus; the sharp point has often made a round dot at the end of these vertical lines, giving the appearance of punctuation at the beginning or end of the first and last lines of the columns[3].

[1] We should have expected at least ܩܛܥ ܕܡܬܝ for a headline, since ܕܡܬܝ occurs as the headline to the following *verso* (Photograph 112). See below, p. 33.

[2] I cannot agree with Dr Harris's opinion (*Syndics' Edition*, p. xxxv) that some pages have been scraped with a knife. But however this may be, it should be clearly stated that there is no evidence at all that *S* has been intentionally defaced in particular places for dogmatic reasons.

[3] E.g. Matt i 1 (ܩܛܥ ܕ) and Mk vii 30 (ܕ ܒܝܬܗ ܩܛܥ). In each case the dot should be omitted.

Codex *S*, *fol.* 90 r, *as now bound* (Lk xix 32—45).

I cannot be sure whether horizontal lines were ruled to join the ends of the vertical lines, but certainly no other horizontal lines were ruled, and consequently the number of lines in a column varies even more than in *C*—from 29 in S. Matthew to 21 in S. John. I think that the whole MS is the work of one scribe, but the writing gradually became larger and the lines in a column fewer as the work progressed. The leaves now measure $8\frac{5}{8}$ in. by $6\frac{1}{4}$ in. There are generally only three words to a line, though in the earlier parts of the MS four words a line and in the later parts two words a line are not uncommon. The subscriptions to the Gospels and the colophon are in red. The headlines consist of ܣܘܒܠܝܢ on the *verso* and ,ܡܬܝ (or the corresponding name) on the *recto*; it seems to have been intended to insert them on every page, but in many instances they are no longer legible[1]. The sign ⁘ is placed in Lk xii 18, xxi 15, xxiv 4, to fill up blank spaces at the end of lines where no pause was intended, but in Matt ix 25 and Joh xiv 31 a horizontal stroke is used for the purpose.

The very few corrections visible in *S* seem all to have been made by the original scribe and arise from the ordinary accidents of transcription, not from the use of a second exemplar. Words accidentally repeated or inserted are deleted by means of dots in Mk vi 18, Lk xiv 12; Joh iii 8 and x 13. In Lk xxi 24 ܒܫܒܝܐ, the dot indicates that the word should be ܒܝܫܐ. Words and letters accidentally dropped are inserted by the original scribe between the lines in Matt v 48 ܐܒܘܟ, Lk xii 43 ܐܬܝ, Joh xiii 16 ܡܫܕܪ, and two steps in the Genealogy Lk iii 33; also Mk xii 1 ܐܬܝ, Lk xvii 23 ܗܐ. If I have rightly conjectured, the word ܐܝܟ was inserted in this way between Lk ix 17 and 18. A few letters have here and there been corrected by the first hand: instances occur Matt ix 20, xx 23, Mk iii 14.

The only orthographical signs found in *S*, with the exception of ܕ̈ (*sic*) in Mk xv 29, are the *seyâmê* marks for the plural. These seem hardly ever to have been dropped, though now the dots are often illegible. In addition to their regular use over nouns they are used for the numerals and for the present participle, especially ܡܫܕܪ; sometimes they occur where they are not wanted, e.g. ܕܫܕܪ Lk viii 56, and

[1] At the head of XI 1 *r* (Photograph 103) ܣܘܒܠܝܢ is written, apparently by mistake.

even ܠܘܩܐ ܕܡܪܩܘܣ Mk xv 32. The other dots usually found in Syriac MSS are absent, even the point which distinguishes the fem. suffix *-âh* from the masc. suffix *-eh*: e.g. in *S* both *leh* 'to him' and *lâh* 'to her' are written ܠܗ. In this *S* differs from *C*, which has the dot for the fem. suffix and sometimes also to distinguish ܗܘ *hau* ('that') from ܗܘ *hû* ('he')[1]. Neither in *S* nor *C* is there any sign to distinguish the various parts of the verb which are written with the same consonants.

Titles, Subscriptions and Colophons in C and S.

The end of S. Mark with the beginning of the following Gospel is preserved both in *C* and *S*. We there read

C	*S*
ܣܦܪ ܡܪܩܘܣ ܕ	ܣܦܪ ܡܪܩܘܣ
ܒܫܪ ܒܣܘܪ	ܒܫܪ ܒܣܘܪ
·o·o·o·o·o·o·o·o·o·o·	·o·o·o·o·o·o·o·o·o·o·
ܡܪܩܘܣ ܣܦܪ ܕ	ܡܪܩܘܣ ܣܦܪ
Endeth Evangel of Mark.	*Endeth Evangel of Mark.*
·o·o·o·o·o·o·o·o·o·o·	·o·o·o·o·o·o·o·o·o·o·
Evangel of John.	*Evangel of Luke.*

Similarly, at the end of S. Luke *S* has (at the bottom of a column)

ܣܦܪ ܡܪܩܘܣ | ܕܠܘܩܐ | ܣܦܪ ܒܫܪ

Endeth Evangel | of Luke. | Evangel of John. |

The beginning of S. John's Gospel no doubt stood at the head of the next left-hand column, but the leaf which contained it is unfortunately missing.

These simple colophons, found both in *C* and in *S*, differ from those in the codices of the Peshitta, which contain the peculiar phrase

ܣܦܪ ܒܫܪ ܕܟܪܙܘܬܐ ܕ[ܠܘܩܐ]

The Evangel, the preaching of [Luke].

[1] E.g. Matt v 12 *C*, Lk xv 4 *C*. The point for the fem. suffix *-âh* is sometimes missed even in *C*, e.g. ܠܐ ܫܒܩܬ ܠܗ ܒܥܠܡܐ Lk xv 9.

This is not mere verbiage, but an attempt to render the Greek preposition κατά. The *Evangelion da-Mepharreshê* had been content to render Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Λουκᾶν by *Evangel* OF *Luke*, but the Peshitta wishes to emphasize the fact that it is not the 'Gospel *of* Luke' but the 'Gospel *according to* Luke.' Besides this, most codices of the Peshitta prefix 'Holy' to 'Gospel' and add the reputed places where the several Gospels were composed, after the manner of many Greek minuscules[1].

The end of *C* is not preserved, but we read in *S* at the end of S. John

ܥܠ ܗܘ ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕ̈ | ܕܡܦܪܫܝ ܐܡܪ̈ܝ | ܐܪ̈ܒܥ ܐܡ̈ܪ̈ܝ | ܫܒ̈ܚܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܘܠܡܫܝܚܗ ܘܠܪ̈ܘܚܗ ܩܕ̈ܝܫܐ | ܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܩܪ̈ܐ ܘܡܫܟ̈ܚ ܘܥܒ̈ܕ ܠܗ ܢܫܬܥܐ ܠܚܛ̈ܝܐ ܕܟܬܒ | ܐܠܗܐ ܒܪ̈ܚܡ̈ܘܗܝ ܢܫܒܘܩ ܠܗ ܠܚ̈ܛܗ̈ܝ ܒܬܪ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܥܠܡ̈ܐ | ܐܡܝܢ ܘܐܡܝܢ | ۝

Endeth the Evangelion da-Mĕpharrĕshê, Four Volumes[3]. *Glory to God and to His Messiah and to His holy Spirit. Every one that readeth and heareth and keepeth and doeth it pray for the sinner that wrote; God in His compassion forgive him his sins in both worlds. Amen and Amen.*

This colophon is noteworthy for two reasons. In the first place it distinctly describes *S* as a copy of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, the Evangel of (or, 'according to') the Separated, i.e. the Gospels divided into the four volumes of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, and not mixed together as in the Diatessaron. The importance of this will be especially felt when we come to emend the not fully preserved title in *C*. But the way the Three Persons of the Trinity are mentioned is even more remarkable. It is not exactly unorthodox, for the co-ordination of the Three Persons by a simple AND was the watchword of orthodoxy[4], but it is unusual to find the Holy Spirit treated as feminine in these

[1] *Matt* is said to have been written in Hebrew in Palestine; *Mk* in Latin at Rome; *Lk* in Greek at Alexandria; *John* in Greek at Ephesus: see Gwilliam's *Tetraeuangelium*, pp. 194, 314, 478, 604.

[2] The scribe apparently wrote ܡܬܡܫܝ, by a slip of the pen.

[3] That we should read *sefrîn* 'volumes,' and not *sûfrîn* 'scribes,' is clear from the colophons to the *Theophania* in Lee's MS (B.M. Add. 12150, dated 411 AD). Thus at the end of the *Theophania* we find ܥܠ ܗܘ ܕܟܬܒ ܫܬܝܪ̈ ܐܡ̈ܪ̈ܝ ܚ̈ܡܫ̈ܐ, i.e. *Endeth writing the Five Volumes of Eusebius.*

[4] Compare Gibbon ii 382.

ascriptions of praise. The S. Petersburg Codex of Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History, dated AD 462, has (ed. Wright and M^{c}Lean, p. 412):

ܫܒܚܐ ܠܐܒܐ ܘܠܒܪܐ ܘܠܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܘܐܡܝܢ.

ܒܪܝܟ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܡܫܝܚܗ ܕܚܫܚ ܠܥܒܕܗ ܠܓܒܪܐ ܚܛܝܐ ܗܘ ܐܝܣܚܩ ....

Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit for ever and ever, Amen and Amen.

Blessed be God and His Messiah, who strengthened his servant the wretched sinner Isaac.....[1].

But not one of Mr Gwilliam's Peshitta MSS has anything like the doxology in *S*. Nevertheless I think we should do the scribe a wrong if we looked for the explanation of his language in any of the Greek heresies of the 4th century. It is rather an example of the conservatism of Syriac-speaking Christianity in its earlier stages. We may compare it with the great Creed of Aphraates (*On Faith* § 19), where he speaks of belief in "God, the Lord of all,...Who sent of His Spirit in the Prophets, and then sent His Messiah into the world." In this Creed, as in the colophon of *S*, we find the sacred names spoken of as 'God' and 'His Spirit' and 'His Messiah,' instead of 'the Father,' 'the Son,' and 'the Holy Spirit.' But it is easy to see how such language would give offence after the epoch of Arian controversy. The unconventional terms in which the doxology of *S* is couched can hardly be used to prove the formal heresy of the scribe, but they certainly suggest that the MS was written before the Christological disputes had greatly troubled the Syriac-speaking Church. In other words *S* is earlier than the 5th century.

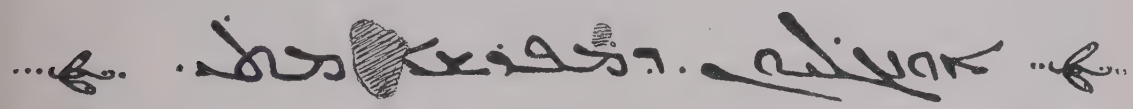
It is a singular fact that there seems to be no title in *S* to S. Matthew. The first two leaves are now missing, but they were probably intended as guards and left blank, as is usual in handsome MSS. The Gospel of S. Matthew begins on the *verso* of the third leaf, the *recto* of that leaf being entirely blank[2]. The *recto* of the next leaf has ܐܒܢ as a headline, so we should expect at least ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ as a headline on the preceding *verso*, but as a matter of fact nothing can be seen there and no re-agent has brought up any sign of a title. *C*, on

[1] It is possible, of course, that this is a piece of intentional Nestorianism, and that the scribe Isaac really meant to distinguish between the Eternal Son and God's Messiah.

[2] Of course this leaf, which is numbered *fol.* 82 of the present MS, is now covered on both sides by the later writing.

the other hand, has a title. It is unfortunately mutilated by two small holes, and before the term *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* had been well established as the native name of the 'Old Syriac' version some controversy had been raised as to the reading of the words and their interpretation.

The title in *C*, as now preserved, is



The writing is in vermilion ink which has turned silver through damp. There is no room for a complete letter between the second and third word, but as the first and the second are separated by a dot, it is almost certain that a dot stood also in the gap between the second and third. The dots over the middle of the first and third words are merely placed there for ornament, but the dot over the ܕ in the second word is unsymmetrical. It is therefore not placed for ornament but for use: we must therefore suppose that it is part of the plural sign (*seyâmê*). It is one of the peculiarities of the scribe of *C* that he frequently avoids making the *seyâmê* dots coalesce with the dot on a ܝ, i.e. he was as likely to have written ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ as the more regular form ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ[1]. I have therefore no hesitation in restoring the title thus:

ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ . ܕ[.]ܡܦܪܪܫܐ . ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ

Evangelion . da-Mĕpharrĕshê . Matthew.

The construction is the same as in the colophon of *S*, where we read "Ev. da-Mepharreshe, *Four Books*," not "*according to the Four*." Before it had been clearly made out that *Evangelion da-Mĕpharrĕshê* was the name given by Syriac-speaking Christians to the Four Gospels as distinguished from the Diatessaron, it was supposed that ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ in the title to *C* had some special reference to S. Matthew or to the Gospel of Matthew. But although the construction given above is certainly somewhat harsh there can be little doubt that it is correct, now that the Sinai Palimpsest definitely speaks of all four Gospels under the name of ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܐܪܒܥ.

[1] E.g. in Matt iii 5 *C* writes ܘܐܬܐ ܠܘܬܗ ܟܠ

Note on the line and paragraph divisions in C and S.

On pp. xx, xxi of the Syndics' Edition a theory of the line and paragraph divisions in *C* and *S* is briefly indicated by Mrs Lewis and Dr Rendel Harris, which, if well grounded, would have an important bearing on the history of the Gospel text in Syriac. I was unconvinced of the truth of the theory at the time, and subsequent investigations do not seem to bear it out: I will therefore very shortly put down the reasons why I consider the line-divisions of Syriac MSS have no significance whatever, and why it is extremely improbable that any system of stichometry should have had a Syriac origin.

Mrs Lewis says (p. xx), "With regard to the punctuation, it is important to observe (with Mr Harris) that the division into paragraphs in our text and in the Cureton MS is often identical. Not only so, but in many places there is a line for line agreement." Twenty passages are then given in illustration. Mrs Lewis goes on to say (p. xxi): "Mr Harris says that the paragraphs are divided into short sentences by stops, which, where they can be traced in the palimpsest writing, agree frequently with the red stops in the Cureton MS. This shows us that the linear and colometric arrangement of the MS from which they were both taken, may be of very high antiquity."

Here there are three distinct theories indicated. *S* and *C* are said to shew a close resemblance in their division of the text (1) into Paragraphs, (2) into Lines, (3) into Sentences or Clauses. Let us take these three theories in the reverse order.

First, as to the Sentences or Clauses. It was assumed by Dr Rendel Harris that the red dots in *C* were by the first hand, or that they were at least part of the original contents of that MS. But it has been already shewn that this is not the case and that the dots were added after *C* was a bound volume, perhaps many years after the codex had been written. Moreover these red dots occur very frequently, almost at every place where an English comma or higher stop would be set. It was therefore inevitable that their position should frequently agree with the points found in *S*, or indeed in any other MS punctuated on a rational system. But they do not so frequently agree in anomalous punctuations; and imperfectly as the punctuation of *S* is preserved, there are not wanting instances where *S* has a point though there is none in *C*. For instance, in Matt ii 9 *S* has a point after ܕܐܬܝ, but there is none in *C*. In Matt ii 13 *S* has "the angel of the LORD appeared to Joseph in a dream, and said to him *Arise*," but in *C* there is no stop after "dream" and in compensation there is a stop after "said to him." Similarly in Matt ii 15 *S* has "spoken...by the mouth of Isaiah the prophet, who had said *From Egypt I have called my son*," while *C* has "said...through the prophet who had said, *From Egypt I have called my son*[1]." Other instances may be found in Lk viii 53 ܕܡܝܬ *S*, Lk ix 32 ܕܐܬܥܪ *S*, Lk ix 61 ܕܐܙܠ *S*, Lk xii 48 ܕܠܐ . ܕܠܐ *S*. In all these places there is no stop in *C* corresponding to that in *S*. Yet on the whole there can be little doubt that the existing punctuation in *C* is much fuller and more regular than that of *S*. I conclude therefore that they are practically independent.

[1] In Syriac

S ܐܡܪ ... ܕܐܬܚܙܐ ܠܗ ܡܠܐܟ ܡܪܝܐ ܒܚܠܡܐ . ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܩܘܡ ܣܒ ܠܟ ܘܐܙܠ ܠܟ .

C ܐܡܪ ... ܕܐܬܚܙܐ ܠܗ ܡܠܐܟ ܡܪܝܐ ܒܚܠܡܐ . ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܩܘܡ ܣܒ ܠܟ ܘܐܙܠ ܠܟ .

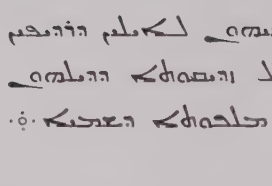
There are however a few cases where *S* and *C* agree in an interesting punctuation, notably in having a stop after ܟܬܝܒ, at the end of Joh vii 37. In this they differ from the earlier Latin tradition, represented by the Epistle of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons, by Codex Bezae, by Cod. Palatinus (*e*) and by the *Speculum* p. (706). According to this Latin interpretation, the first words of Joh vii 38 *qui credit in me* go with *bibat* at the end of the preceding verse, and the 'living waters' flow not from the believer but from Christ Himself. The fact that *S* and *C* have a stop at the end of ver. 37 shews that the Old Syriac Version rendered the verse as it is rendered in the English Bible and by the great majority of interpreters, ancient and modern. The agreement of *S* and *C* in so widespread an interpretation proves very little as to the origin of their punctuation.

As to the second point, the alleged agreement of *S* and *C* in their division into lines, it might seem sufficient to call to mind the great textual differences between these two MSS. *S* and *C* differ on matters of such fundamental importance, that it is difficult to believe that there can be any significance in their occasional agreement in the division of the text into lines. But the matter does not rest upon general probabilities. We have to consider the nature of Syriac script and its important differences from Greek script. Greek MSS of the 4th and 5th centuries were written with no spaces between the words, and no scruple was felt about dividing the words at the end of a line. Thus the number of words in a line varied greatly, but the number of syllables was approximately constant, e.g. cod. ℵ averages about six syllables in a line, cod. B about seven or eight. In a pair of such MSS it would be exceedingly improbable that the lines should coincide. There are so many ways of lawfully dividing most Greek words that marked examples of coincidence for several lines together could not be regarded as the result of a mere accident. But Syriac writing is quite different. The words are separated by spaces, as in modern English, and they are never divided at the end of a line. Consequently the average number of syllables in a short Syriac line varies very greatly, but the average number of words is constant. Now *S* and *C*, like all other known early Syriac MSS, are written in short lines, with only three words on the average to a line. Whenever therefore they start level, as at the beginning of a paragraph, there is every probability that they will go on agreeing line for line, unless an actual variation in text occurs, such as the omission of one or two words. For example, to take the first passage on Mrs Lewis's list, it is true that both *S* and *C* give Matt v 3 thus :—

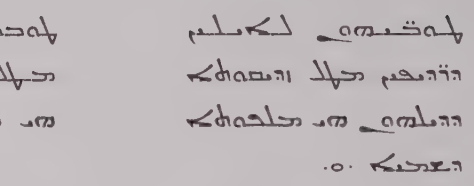
ܒܪܝܟܝܐ ܠܡܣܟܝܢܐ
ܕܝܠܗܘܢ ܗܝ ܡ
ܕܫܡܝܐ ܗܝ ܡ

But how otherwise should the lines be divided? If the scribe did not end the first line at ܠܡܣܟܝܢܐ he would have to get ܕܝܠܗܘܢ into the space. And indeed, as if to shew that this line-division in Syriac MSS is a matter of absolute indifference, we find the very same division of this verse in such codices of the Peshitta as B.M. Add. 17117, although naturally B.M. Add. 17117 reads ܕܝܠܗ instead of ܕܝܠܗܘܢ. Moreover, when once the line-agreement of *S* and *C* is disturbed, it remains disturbed, e.g. in Matt v 10 we have

C



S



The fact that *S* and *C* often take exactly the same number of lines to get through three or four verses is thus merely another way of stating that the lines in each MS are of much the same breadth, but the nature of Syriac script robs this circumstance of the significance which it might have had in a pair of Greek MSS. I have therefore not thought it worth while in this edition to keep any record of the line-divisions either of *S* or of *C*.

Had the occasional agreement of *S* and *C* in their division of the text into lines possessed the significance suggested by Mrs Lewis, we should have been compelled to regard *S* and *C* as direct descendants of the same exemplar. Besides this, it would have been reasonable to assume that these agreements were intentional and that they had something to do with an early system of Syriac stichometry. Dr Harris had found at Sinai a 9th cent. MS of miscellaneous contents which contained among other reckonings an enumeration of the number of in the Four Gospels. Now there are two systems of reckoning found in various Greek MSS of the Gospel; we have enumerations sometimes of the στίχοι, sometimes of the ῥήματα, sometimes of both. A στίχος is a line of a given length, or rather of a given average number of syllables, e.g. a half-hexameter. If therefore the number of στίχοι in a work is known, *and the number of lines in a column be constant*, it is easy by counting the number of columns at once to ascertain whether a MS is approximately complete. In fact, the use of the numeration of στίχοι (Lat. *uersus*) is to guard the buyers of books against fraud. The meaning of ῥήματα in enumerations is not so clear. The word may stand either for στίχος or ῥῆμα, and Dr Harris brought forward a theory, which found many supporters, that in the case before us was a translation of στίχοι, and ῥήματα a retranslation of . In other words, the Greek enumeration of στίχοι had been adapted to the Syriac version and the numbers so transformed had been retranslated into Greek under the name of ῥήματα. An additional confirmation of the theory seemed to come from the presence of certain readings which agreed with the Old Syriac in the 'Ferrar group' of Greek MSS, and the 'Ferrar group' were among the MSS that contained the reckoning of ῥήματα[1].

Attractive as this theory appears at first sight, it breaks down under close examination from the Syriac side. If the ῥήματα system had a Syriac origin it must obviously have been a system intended for the 'Old Syriac,' i.e. the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. The coincidences noted by Dr Harris between the Ferrar group and Syriac readings were with readings of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* or of Tatian's Diatessaron, not of the Peshitta. But the Syriac MSS which contain the are all of them late—the earliest witness is not anterior to the 9th century—and in at least two cases these lists contain figures for the full Greek Canon of the seven Catholic Epistles, a circumstance

[1] J. R. Harris, *On the origin of the Ferrar Group* (1893), pp. 9, 17 ff.

which suggests a Greek origin for the whole system[1]. Moreover early Syriac MSS, and especially *S* and *C*, are singularly ill adapted to form the basis of stichometrical calculations. Neither in *S* nor in *C* are horizontal lines ruled for writing, so that the number of lines in a column, even in parallel columns on the same page, varies considerably, and to ascertain the number of lines occupied by either of the Gospels in *S* or *C* it would be necessary to inspect each page of the MS.

The ῥήματα system appears in some Latin MSS of the Vulgate about the same time as the earliest evidence for it in Syriac: the same reckonings seem to underlie the famous 4th century *Cheltenham List*, so that ῥήματα might equally well be a translation of *uersus* as of ܦܣܩܐ. But whatever be the origin of these ῥήματα there is no tangible evidence to connect them with the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*; on the contrary, there are many indications that the scribes of *S* and *C* were not familiar either with the ῥήματα or any other system of stichometry.

With regard to the third point raised by Mrs Lewis, *viz.* the division of *S* and *C* into paragraphs, the evidence is not as clear as might be wished. There would be every probability that the paragraph system in a pair of MSS such as *S* and *C* should go back, in part at least, to a common origin. But here again we are hampered by the ambiguity of Syriac writing. Both in *S* and in *C* a fresh paragraph starts at the beginning of a line. The preceding line will in many cases be short, and the end of the paragraph is thus clearly marked either by the blank space at the end of the short line or by a stop. When the end of a paragraph happened to occur at the end of a full line it seems to have been the general intention of the scribes to leave a blank space, e.g. after Matt xiii 43 *S*. But this blank space is not always left. When therefore the end of a paragraph comes at the end of a line it is often impossible to determine whether the next line was intended to begin a new paragraph or not. This happens very frequently, for on the average there are only three words to a line. In something like one case out of ten therefore the same word will end a line both in *S* and in *C*, whether a paragraph be intended to end there or not. And if a word is known to end the line in the one MS, the chances are one to two that it will also end the line in the other. This being the case it needs clear instances of agreement in quite peculiar divisions to prove that the paragraphs in *S* and *C* belong to the same system.

Now as a matter of fact *S* and *C* very often do not agree in their paragraph divisions. If we take from Matt i 1 to vi 10 (where *S* breaks off owing to the loss of a couple of leaves) we find that paragraphs clearly end in *C*, but not in *S*, before

Matt ii 14 (Now Joseph arose...)
16 (Then Herod, when he saw...)
22 (Now when Joseph heard...)
iii 1 (And in those days came John the Baptist...)
iv 17 (From then Jesus began to preach...)
21 (And when he removed thence...)
v 25 (Be agreed with thy adversary...)
48 (Become therefore perfect...)

[1] See the Note by the present writer on the Gospel ῥήματα found in Syriac MSS (*Journ. of Theol. Studies*, ii 429 ff).

On the other hand paragraphs end in *S*, but not in *C*, before

Matt iv 1 (Then Jesus was led by the Spirit...)
25 (And when there was a great multitude....)
v 31 (It hath been said 'He that leaveth his wife....')
43 (Ye have heard that it hath been said...)
vi 9[b] (Our Father in heaven...)

It will hardly be denied that here we have considerable variation. It is indeed quite surprising that *S* should not make Matt iii 1 begin a paragraph and that *C* should not make Matt iv 1 begin a paragraph[1]. Much the same state of things is to be found in other parts of the Gospels. For instance Lk xii 32 begins a paragraph in *C*, but not in *S*; on the other hand, Joh viii 12 begins in *C* on the same line as the last words of vii 52, but in *S* there is a fresh paragraph. These grave divergences suggest that the systems of paragraph division in *S* and *C* may have been developed quite independently[2].

In conclusion I will quote some words of Mr G. H. Gwilliam upon the paragraph divisions in MSS of the Peshitta, which have a real bearing upon the question before us. Mr Gwilliam says "evidence of the independence of these MSS [of the Peshitta] appears in the different arrangement of the paragraphs of the sacred text in the different copies. In some the paragraphs are numerous; in others few, and differently placed. For example, in S. Matt x the Cod. 14459 makes a break in our Lord's discourse at the end of verse 10, and seems to stand alone in so doing. In c. xi it makes its division at the end of verse 1, thus not so distinctly connecting the message of the Baptist with the preaching of Christ recorded in verse 1, as do other authorities. And similarly in other MSS divisions are constantly made, more or less arbitrarily, according to the fashion of some scribe or school" (*Studia Biblica* i 166). "Besides the formal sections, the text is often interrupted in the best MSS, where the sense requires a break; and these paragraphs are often made with much judgement" (*Studia Biblica* iii 81). If even the MSS of the Peshitta Gospels shew independence in their paragraph divisions we shall not be surprised if the MSS of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* exhibit wide divergence.

[1] It is perhaps worth notice that the Latin Cod. Bobiensis (*k*) has no fresh paragraph at Matt iii 1, although like *S* it has a fresh paragraph at the *Pater noster*. But elsewhere *S* and *k* do not exhibit much in common in their system of text division.

[2] The chief instance of marked agreement between *S* and *C* in this matter is the division of each Beatitude in Matt v into a separate paragraph. Each parable in Matt xiii is similarly divided.

CODEX *C*, *fol.* 49 r (Joh vi 41—53).

A page with a small black dot at the end of a paragraph, but no other punctuation.

Codex *C*, *fol.* 48 v (Joh vi 30—41).
A page with a headline and corrections, but no punctuation dots.

CHAPTER II.

GRAMMAR AND SYNTAX.

Grammatical peculiarities of *S* and *C*.

It was long the fate of the 'Curetonian' to be praised for its defects and slighted for its merits, and in no point was this treatment more marked than in the matter of its grammatical features. The defenders of its antiquity too often based their case upon points of grammar and spelling which *C* shares with ancient Peshitta MSS, while many of the real peculiarities have remained hardly noticed to this day. Even more absurd was the contention that the 'Curetonian' was older than the Peshitta on the ground that the rougher and less polished version, as the 'Curetonian' was declared to be, must on this ground have preceded the more regular and grammatical. It is true that the Peshitta follows Greek idiom much more closely than its rival, though without the pedantic servility of the Harclean; and this circumstance undoubtedly renders it extremely unlikely that it should be older than the text represented by Cureton's MS. But it will be well at the outset clearly to state that neither the text of the Curetonian nor that of the Sinai Palimpsest can be described as in any degree barbarous or uncultured. Apart from a few corruptions in the text, such as might befal MSS of Demosthenes or Cicero, both *S* and *C* are written in the most idiomatic Syriac. Our two MSS are themselves very ancient, and the text which they present is doubtless much more ancient still; hence the transmitted text of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* is full of peculiarities of grammar and spelling which are hardly to be met elsewhere in Syriac literature, or are found only in the oldest and best preserved works. But there is no question of dialectical variety or of rustic idiom. On the contrary, every indication shews that the translator of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* used the vernacular Syriac of Edessa with the simplicity

and ease which come only from literary training, coupled (as one is tempted to add) with the prevalence of a sound standard of taste. Few prose translations surpass the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* in literary excellence.

In this chapter I have followed the order of the sections of Nöldeke's Syriac Grammar, noting the more important peculiarities under each section. In transliterating I have used Greek letters for the aspirated sounds of ܒ ܓ ܕ ܦ ܬ.

Spelling.

S and *C* are on the whole regular in spelling apart from words where the form is really different from that generally found.

[*Nöldeke* § 4.] ܕܠ and ܗܠܟ occur frequently for ܕ and ܗ, especially when there is plenty of space in the line. On the other hand *S* often writes ܠܥܡ, ܠܥܕ, ܡܠܥܕ (Matt xxvii 61), at the end of a line ܐܝܬܝܐ is three times written ܐܝܬܝ (Mk x 32, Lk xix 36, Joh xiv 6)[1], and we even find ܒܗܘܗ for ܒܗܘܗܘ in Lk xiii 3. In this point *C* is more regular, though ܒܥܝܪ is found for ܒܥܝܪܐ in *C*, e.g. Lk xiii 4 (at the end of a line). The defective spelling ܐܒܪܗ Matt xxii 19 *S* (*sic*, for ܐܒܪܗܡ) must be a mere slip of the pen[2].

[*Nöldeke* § 35.] Radical ܐ is not unfrequently dropped in *S*, and sometimes also in *C*, when the letter is practically unpronounced. Thus we find ܚܕ in Matt xxiv 2 *S*, Mk xiii 2 *S*, Lk viii 51 *S*, Lk xii 41 *C*, etc., and in *S* even ܒܪ for ܒܪܐ in Lk [ii 15, and] ix 51. In Lk xiv 16 *C*, Joh vii 31 *C*, Joh xviii 2 *S* ܩܒܠ occurs for ܩܒܠ at the end of a line. But the insertion of ܐ in such words as ܐܚܕ, ܐܒܐ, never occurs either in *S* or *C*, with the single exception of ܐܡܪ | ܐܡܪ Lk xvi 18 *S*, where the intrusive ܐ in the first word is perhaps only due to a slip[3]. The curious form ܐܬܬܚܙܝ found in Mk iii 11, Lk x 34 *S*, is noticed below on *Nöldeke* § 77.

[1] ܐܝܬܝ occurs Matt xx 30 in Mr Gwilliam's cod. 36.

[2] The same is probably true of ܕܒܚ for ܕܒܚܡ in Joh x 9[b] *S*. It is noteworthy that many of the words from which a ܡ is dropped in *S* are words in which another ܡ occurs. Misspellings of another kind are ܚܬܡܝ Mk vi 9 *S* and ܐܬܚܡܠܚ Mk vii 22 *S*.

[3] This incorrect insertion of ܐ is not much found before the 9th century and then only in Jacobite MSS, e.g. *Cod. Crawfordianus* 2 of the 12th cent. Along with many other late and incorrect forms it found its way into early editions of the Peshitta.

[*Nöldeke* § 50 B.] The unpronounced ܐ and ܗ at the ends of words are very rarely left out in *S* and *C*. In Joh iv 7 *C* has ܠܡ ܒܥ, but the correct spelling ܠܗ ܒܥ is found in *v.* 10 and in $S^2/_2$. The majority of the MSS of syr.vg have ܠܡ ܒܥ: probably the phrase was regarded as a single word. In Matt xiv 16 ܠܡܐ ܐܒܥ is correctly written in all the MSS.

[*Nöldeke* § 51.] Prosthetic ܐ before *r* is common both in *S* and in *C*, e.g. in Matt i 5 'Ruth' is spelt ܪܥܘܬ in *C*, while *S* has ܪܥܝ. In Joh xx 12 the curious phrase for 'at the foot-place' is written ܐܬܪ ܕܓ in *S*, i.e. *min aryâlê*. In the Peal of ܪܟܒ 'to ride' we find ܐܪܟܒ Matt xxi 5 *C* and ,ܡܓܠ ܪܟܒ ܐܪܟܒ Mk xi 7 *S*. This use of prosthetic ܐ even after ܐ explains the spelling of ܐܪܥܝܐ Lk ii 14 *S*: ܐܪܥܝܬ (=εὐδοκία) was probably so spelt in this passage in order more effectually to distinguish it from ܪܥܝ, i.e. *râ'awâθâ* 'shepherds,' a word which occurs four times in the immediate context[1].

It may be mentioned here that *S* has ܐܪܨܦܝܬ in Matt ix 16 and ܪܨܦܝ in Mk ii 21 for the word which is usually spelt ܪܨܦܝܐ 'a patch[2].' In each case *S* is supported by Gwilliam's cod. 23 and some other evidence. *C* is not extant in either place.

In Matt vii 13 *C* has ܪܫܝܥܐ (hiat *S*), but Mr Gwilliam has adopted ܐܪܫܝܥܐ on excellent authority.

Pronouns.

[*Nöldeke* § 63.] ܐܢܫܢ is the form commonly used both in *S* and in *C*. ܫܢ only seems to occur twice in *S*, *viz.* Lk vii 20, xix 14, but it is found more often in *C*, e.g. Matt xix 27, xx 18, xxii 16; Lk xi 4.

[*Nöldeke* § 64.] The contracted forms of the 1st pers. sing. masc. such as ܐܝܬܝ, ܐܡܪ, are more common both in *S* and in *C* than the uncontracted forms ܐܢܐ ܐܝܬ, ܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ. In the fem. we find ܐܡܪܐ Joh xi 22 *S*, Joh xx 14 *S*, but ܐܢܐ ܐܡܪܐ Joh xi 24 *S*: either form is of course pronounced *yâδ'ânâ*[3], while the masc. is *yâδa'nâ*. ܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ occurs Joh xi 27 *S*.

[1] The pronunciation of ܐܪܥܝܬ I suppose to have been *ar'âθâ*: comp. רְעוּת Ezr v 17, vii 18, and in Syriac ܪܥܘܬܐ.

[2] So also ܐܨܦܝ A^a 365, agreeing with *S*, but A^b has ܐܨܚܝ.

[3] Mr Gwilliam edits ܐܡܪܐ in Joh xi 24, ܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ in Joh xx 14.

In the 2nd sing. masc. the forms with ܐܢܬ written separately are almost universal. As exceptions I have noted ܐܢܬ Matt xv 12 *S*, ܐܢܬ Matt xix 21 *S* (middle of line), ܐܝܬܝܬ Lk xxii 60 *S*, ܐܬܡܫ Lk xxiv 18 *S*, ܐܢܬ Joh iv 27 *S* (ܐܢܬ *C*), ܐܠܝܬ Joh xi 22 *S*; ܐܫ in Lk vii 44 *S* appears to be a scribe's blunder for ܐܫܐ, similar to that made by *C* in Joh iv 27. In *C* ܐܝܬ occurs Lk x 26 and ܐܫܒ Lk xvi 5. But in the 2nd sing. fem. the rule is reversed: *S* never has the separated form and *C* only twice. We find ,ܐܢܬ Matt xv 28 *S* (,ܐܢ ܐܢܬ *C*), ,ܐܢܬ Matt xx 21 *S* (ܐܢ ܐܢܬ *C*, *sic*); ,ܐܝܬܝܬ Matt xxvi 70 *S*, Mk xiv 68 *S*: ,ܐܝܬ (pass. part.) Lk xiii 12 *S C* and Pesh., ,ܐܢܬ Lk xix 41 *S C* and Pesh. In Matt xxiii 37 *S*, Lk xiii 34 *S C* we find ,ܐܬܟ̈ܣ . . . ,ܐܠܦ, but *C* has ܐܠܦ, just as ܐܢ is written in *C* for ,ܐܢ in Matt xi 23, xx 21, an error which occurs again twice in Joh iv 10 *C* (ܐܢ ܐܠܝܬ . . . ܐܢ ܐܢܬ). It is not unlikely that ,ܐܦ in Lk x 41 *C* is a corruption of ,ܐܦ i.e. *yâṣpat* 'thou (*f.*) art anxious.'

The forms ܐܝ ܐܝ and ܗܐܝ are about equally common. ܐܝ is never written enclitically after participles.

[*Nöldeke* § 66.] The irregular forms of the verbal suffixes will be found under the verbs.

[*Nöldeke* § 67.] ܐܝ ܗܘܝ and ܗܘ are about equally common. In *C* ܐܝ *hau* sometimes has the ordinary point, e.g. ܐܡܪ ܐܝ Matt v 12, ܐܝ ܠܝ Lk xviii 14.

The rare and ancient form ܗܠܝ is found in Matt xv 22 *C*, xx. 9 *C*, xxi 40 *C*, xxii 7 *C*; Lk viii 13 *S C*, xii 37 *C*; Joh iv 38, 43 *C* (*hiat S*). Except in Lk viii 13, *S* where extant has in each case ܗܘ for ܗܠܝ. It appears to be used with no distinction of meaning and ܗܘ occurs in *C* side by side with ܗܠܝ, e.g. in Matt xx 10. The fem. ܗܠܝ occurs Matt xv 24 *C* S^{ed}.

[*Nöldeke* § 68.] ܐܢ is frequently written for ܐܢ and ܐܝ ܐܢ, and also for ܐܝ ܗܐܢ both in *S* and *C*. ,ܐ ܐܢ is written ,ܐܢ in *S* wherever it occurs, *viz.* Matt xii 48, Mk iii 33, Lk vii 39: this spelling is apparently unknown elsewhere in Syriac[1].

[1] מנו and מני are both found in the Babylonian Talmud, as in the story of Rabbi Chasda (*Shabb.* 140 b), who said to his daughters, "When any one knocks at the door לא תימרון מנו אלא מני, i.e. do not say 'Who is there?' as if to a man, but as if to a woman."

Nouns.

[*Nöldeke* § 71, 4.] The fem. pl. emph. of ܣܥܝܬܐ is generally spelt ܣܥܝܪܬܐ in *S* as in all other Syriac MSS. But in Lk xxii 65 the word is very distinctly written ܣܥܝܪܬܐ[1]. This might represent a pronunciation *saggîyâθâ* (instead of *saggî'âθâ*), but it is probably a mere slip of the pen.

[*Nöldeke* § 74.] The plural of ܣܦܪ is uniformly ܣܦܪܐ when used as a substantive, including Lk xii 11 *S*. But as a predicate we find ܣܦܪܝܢ in Matt xx 25 *C* (*hiat S*) and in Lk xx 25 *S*: in the last passage *C* has even ܣܦܪ. In Mk iii 15 *S* has ܣܦܪܝܢ.

[*Nöldeke* § 77.] The plural of ܣܥܘܬܐ 'wound' should be ܣܥܘܬܐ, i.e. *maḥwâθâ*, as in Lk x 34 *C*, vii 21 *S C*, xii 48 *S C*. But *S* in Mk iii 11, Lk x 34, has ܣܥܪܘܬܐ, i.e. *m'ḥawâθâ*, like *ṣ'lawâθâ* from *ṣ'lôθâ* 'prayer.' That it was not treated as masc. appears from the context of Lk x 34 *S*, where we read ... ܘܥܪܩ ܥܠܝܗ ܡܥܪܘܬܐ ܕܝܠܗ. The grammatical interest of this form, thus doubly attested for *S*, is that it throws some doubt upon the complete sufficiency of the grammatical tradition of the Syrians. Ancient Syriac MSS are not vocalised, and the grammatical traditions upon which our Syriac grammars are based is essentially a series of directions for the pronunciation of the Bible in Church. In the same way the Massoretic vocalisation of the Hebrew text gives the Synagogue chant. But these official schemes do not allow for all varieties of pronunciation and they have a tendency to reduce what was varied and fluid in the living language to the uniformity of a cast-iron pattern.

Many of the niceties of Syriac grammar depend on the vocalisation alone, and divergent forms may be hid under the regular consonantal spelling of ancient MSS. Thus in the present case ܣܥܘܬܐ may represent equally well *maḥwâθâ* and *m'ḥawâθâ*. But ܣܥܪܘܬܐ cannot stand for *maḥwâθâ*; there must be with this spelling a vowel between *ḥ* and *w*. But if the scribe of *S* spelt the word ܣܥܪܘܬܐ in Mk iii 11 and Lk x 34, he probably pronounced ܣܥܘܬܐ as *m'ḥawâθâ* in Lk xii 48

[1] See *facsimile* to the Syndics' Edition, last line of col. *a*.

and elsewhere. It would be interesting to trace the usage of this word and others of the same sort in the earlier poets[1].

[*Nöldeke* § 79 B.] The plural of ܠܚܡ in *S C* is ܟܚܡܬ, except in Lk xxi 13 (14) where both MSS have ܠܚܡܬܐ.

[*Nöldeke* § 87.] ܟܠܡܐ 'word' is always fem. in the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. By a usage which derived its authority from Theology rather than Grammar, the Peshitta always makes ܟܠܡܐ masc. when it means 'the Word' in the Johannine sense. *S* is unfortunately missing for the opening verses of the Fourth Gospel, but in *C*, supported by Aphraates and by Ephraim, we read ܗܘ ܟܠܡܐ ܕܐܬܒܪܝ ܘܫܪܐ ܒܝܬܢ ܒܦܓܪܐ 'the Word became a body and She sojourned with us[2].' So also in the *Acts of Thomas* 241 we find ܟܠܡܐ ܕܟܠ ܚܝܠ 'the Word, Mistress of all.'

ܪܘܚܐ 'spirit' is also fem. in *S* and *C*. In the Peshitta it is frequently treated as masc. when it means the Holy Spirit. But the Holy Spirit is fem. in *S* and *C*: even in Joh xiv we find ܪܘܚܐ ... ܗܝ ܢܠܦ̈ ... ܗܘ, ܠܐ 'the Spirit, the Paraclete...She will teach you[3].' That this usage was not wholly a matter of grammatical inflexion, but had also an influence in theological teaching is clear from Aphraates 354, where that ancient writer asserts that the Father and Mother whom a man leaves when he marries a wife are God and the Holy Spirit.

In one passage, ܪܘܚܐ ܕܣܛܢܐ ܗܘ Lk viii 29 *S C*, an *unclean* spirit is treated as masc., but probably in this passage ܪܘܚܐ is a correction for ܣܛܢܐ 'devil': τῷ δαιμονίῳ instead of τῷ πνεύματι is read in D and in *e* of the Old Latin[4].

The word ܫܡܝܐ is used in Syriac both as sing. and plur. for 'heaven' and 'heavens,' and in the sing. it is sometimes masc. and

[1] Alone of course it would be in any case a word of three syllables. But the spelling of *S* would be greatly supported if an instance of ܟܚܫܒܬܐ or ܟܚܫܒܬܐ could be found where the verse required four syllables. Possibly the irregular spelling indicates that the third radical still had some consonantal force. The root is מחא for √מחץ, corresponding to مخض and מחץ.

[2] For the exact meaning of ܗܘ ܟܠܡܐ see the Note on the passage.

[3] *C* is here partly defective but ܗܘ ... ܠܐ is clear.

[4] In Joh iii 6 *C* adds at the end of the verse

ܟܠܡܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܪܘܚܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܝܬ. ܗܘ ܪܘܚܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܟܠܡܐ ܕܚܝ ܗܘ.

But *S* has only ܟܠ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܪܘܚܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܝ ܫ 'because God is a living (m.) Spirit.' The word ܫ is unfortunately not very clear, but I think it is correctly read, otherwise we might conjecture ܪܫܝ. In any case it is a sentence where a feminine adjective would be very harsh.

sometimes fem. In *S* and *C* ܫܡܝܐ is always masc. pl. when it is the subject of a verb. The 'heavens' are opened (Matt iii 16, Lk iii 24) or are shut (Lk iv 24), and 'they' are the throne of God (Matt v 34): in the last instance syr.vg has the sing. masc. But in other cases ܫܡܝܐ is sing. masc. in *S* and sing. fem. in *C*. Thus the phrase "from one end of the world to the other" is rendered

ܡܢ ܣܦܪ ܥܠܡܐ ܘܥܕ ܣܦܪ ܫܡܝܐ[1] ܕ Mk xiii 27 *S*

ܡܢ ܣܦܪ ܥܠܡܐ ܘܥܕ ܣܦܪ ,ܫܡܝ ܕ Lk xvii 24 *S*

Here as elsewhere *S* does not insert the diacritic point which distinguishes *rêsheh* (m.) from *rêshâh* (f.), but the suffix of ,ܫܡܝ in the second passage shews that ܫܡܝܐ is treated as masc. In Mk *C* is missing, but we find

ܡܢܘ ܣܦܪ ܥܠܡܐ ܘܥܕ ܣܦܪ ܫܡ ܕ Lk xvii 24 *C*

in which ܫܡܝܐ is sing. fem. In Matt xi 25 *S C* and syr.vg (with syr.vg also in Lk x 21) 'Lord of heaven and earth' is rendered ܡܪܐ ܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܪܥܐ, whereby the gender of ܫܡܝܐ is not indicated; in Lk x 21 *S* and *C** have ´ܐ ´ܪ ܘ ܫܡ, but a corrector of *C* has added a dot in red over the ܡ, thereby making ܫܡܝܐ fem.

Elsewhere the gender and number of ܫܡܝܐ is carefully left indeterminate. The 'kingdom of God' is sometimes ܡܠܟܘܬ ܐܠܗܐ sometimes ܡܠܟܘܬ ܕܐܠܗܐ, but the 'kingdom of Heaven' is always ܡܠܟܘܬ ܫܡܝܐ, except in the few instances where the construct state is used, an idiom which also leaves the gender and number of ܫܡܝܐ doubtful[2]. Neither ܡܠܟܘܬ ܕܫܡܝܐ nor ܡܠܟܘܬ ـــ ܕܫܡܝܐ ever occurs in Syriac literature, so far as I know.

Similarly the Birds of Heaven are ܛܦܪܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ Matt vi 26, viii 20, etc.; the Clouds of Heaven are ܥܢܢܐ ܕ[..]ܫܡܝܐ Matt xxiv 30 *S*, xxvi 64 *S*, or ܥܢܢܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ Mk xiv 62 *S*; the Angels of Heaven are ܡܠܐܟܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ, or ܫܡܝܐ ,ܡܠܐܟ Matt xxiv 36, or ܫܡܝܐ ,ܥܢ Lk xv 10 *A*; and the Powers of Heaven are ܚܝܠܬ ܫܡܝܐ Matt xxiv 29 *S*, Mk xiii 25 *S* (*sic*)[3], or ܫܠܛ ܫܡܝܐ Lk xxi 26 *S C*.

It is worthy of note that the construction of ܫܡܝܐ is the same for

[1] ܫܡܝ (so I read the photograph): *S*^{ed} has ܫܡܝ. In this verse syr.vg makes ܫܡܝܐ fem. sing.

[2] ܫܡܝܐ ܡܠܟܘܬ occurs Matt vii 21 *C*, xiii 52 *S*, xviii 3 *A* 221, xix 23 *C A* 392.

[3] Not ܚܝܠܬ as *S*^{ed}. Syr.vg has ܫܠܛ in Matt and Lk, ܚܝܠܬ in Mk.

rendering οὐρανὸς and οὐρανοί. Thus in the Greek of Matt iii 16 the word is plural; in the parallel passage Lk iii 21, in Lk iv 24, and in Matt v 34, the word is used in the singular.

The word ܐܬܪܐ 'branch,' pl. ܐܬܪܘܬ, is not marked in *Nöldeke* § 87 as of common gender. But both in Matt xxiv 32 and in Mk xiii 28 *S* has ܕܡܬܪܟܝ ܐܬܪܐ ܒܕ 'when its branches have become tender.' *C* unfortunately is not extant for either passage, and in Matt xxiv 32 syr.vg has ܒܝ, i.e. fem. pl. This is also the reading adopted by Mr Gwilliam in Mk xiii 28, but the Nestorian Massora (Mas. 1), with one of the Jacobite Massoretic codices (Mas. 4) and three ancient MSS (7 11 21) all read ܐܬܝ as in *S* (*sic*), thereby making ܐܬܪܐ masc. in the plural.

[*Nöldeke* § 98 C.] ܡܢ occurs Matt i 19 *S* and ܡܢ Joh v 30 *C*. ܐܬܪ and ܐܬܪܟ are about equally common, as is usually the case in ancient Syriac MSS.

[*Nöldeke* § 100.] For ܐܬܪܫ, see on *Nöldeke* § 77.

[*Nöldeke* § 103.] ܡܢ ܡܫܐ occurs Mk viii 3 *S*, Lk xvi 23 *S*. The absolute and construct of ܡܫܐ are otherwise unknown. On the analogy of ܪܘܚܐ and ܒܝܬܐ, we may suppose the pronunciation to have been *ruḥaq*.

[*Nöldeke* § 117.] ܒܝܫ Matt viii 12 *S* must be a mere scribal error for ܒܝܫ, like ܫܚܝܢ Lk xix 44 *S* for ܢܚܝܢ.

[*Nöldeke* § 127*.] For the formation of ܐܬܪܨܝܐ (= εὐδοκία) Lk ii 14 *S*, see on *Nöldeke* § 51.

[*Nöldeke* § 128 A.] ܫܚܢ Lk xix 44 *S* must be a scribal error for ܢܚܢ. The very peculiar rendering ܕܐܬܪܝ for τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς σου is attested by *C* and Aphraates 412, and it is possible that the misspelling in *S* may come from an unskilful correction in its exemplar.

[*Nöldeke* § 135.] The words for 'Galilee' and 'Galilaean' are irregular in *S*. In *C*, as in other Syriac documents, ܓܠܝܠ is 'Galilee,' ܓܠܝܠܐ 'a man of Galilee.' But in Matt xxvi 69, Mk xiv 70, Lk xxii 59, *S* has ܓܠܝܠܐ for 'Galilaean.' The plural is spelt ܓܠܝܠܝܢ in Lk xiii 1, 2, and also in Lk xvii 11 apparently. To make the irregularity yet more conspicuous *S* has ܓܠܝܠܐ in Lk xxiii 5, 6, for 'Galilee.'

[*Nöldeke* § 145.] The possessive suffixes to Nouns offer in *S* no peculiarities, but the spelling ܕܠܟܬܗ occurs in *C* twice (Matt xi 2,

Joh iv 8) for ,ܡܬܬܠܚ. This spelling is also found in most varieties of Palestinian Aramaic, so that possibly it was once not uncommon in Edessene.

[*Nöldeke* § 146 : *the anomalous Nouns.*]

ܐܒܐ.—The ordinary form for 'my father,' *viz.* ܐܒܝ, is usual both in *S* and *C*. But in Matt x 32 *C*, xv 13 *S*, Lk ii 49 *C*, Joh vi 32 *C*, we find ܐܒܐ, although no Greek MS omits *μου*. In Matt vi 4 *S* also we find ܐܒܐ, where *C* in agreement with the Greek has ܒܝ ܐܒܐ. It is true that in none of the cases are both *S* and *C* agreed, but on the other hand the same interchange of ܐܒܐ and ,ܐܒܝ is occasionally found in the MSS of syr.vg. I have noted ܐܒܐ for ,ܐܒܝ Joh vi 32 (cod. 14), x 17 (cod. 9), xii 27 (cod. 40), xii 50 (codd. 3 4 14 17 23 40), xiv 26 (cod. 3*), xvi 17 (cod. 12), xvii 25 (cod. 9). ,ܐܒܝ for ܐܒܐ only occurs Joh xii 49 (cod. 3), xiv 12 (codd. 4 9 23 36 37) In Joh vi 32 *C* therefore has some outside support, and in Joh xii 27 ܐܒܐ has the support of *S* and the Greek. It is, I venture to think, not unlikely that ܐܒܐ, i.e. *Abba*, was once used for 'my father' in Edessene, as in most forms of Palestinian Aramaic, and that these variations are the last trace of a vanishing idiom[1]. In Mk xiv 36 for Ἀββᾶ ὁ *πατήρ* we find ,ܐܒܝ in *S*, i.e. 'my Father,' without any addition; syr.vg has ,ܐܒܝ ܐܒܐ i.e. 'Abba, my Father,' in agreement with the Greek.

ܐܝܕ.—As in all the Biblical translations the plural of ܐܝܕ 'hand' is ܐܝܕܝ, not ܐܝܕ̈. It only occurs in the phrase 'to lay hands on' a person[2].

[1] In Christian Palestinian Aramaic, as in Jewish Aramaic, ܐܒܐ means 'my father' even where the emphasis is on the suffix, e.g. Joh xx 17 'unto *my* Father and *your* Father' is rendered ܠܐܒܝ ܘܐܒܐ ܕܝ.

[2] This phrase curiously illustrates the occasional fixity of Syriac idiom. 'They laid [their] hands upon him', i.e. *arrested* him, is in Syriac ܥܠ ܝܫܘܥ ܫܕܘ ܐܝܕܝܗܘܢ, the word ܐܝܕܝ being without a suffix and at the end of the clause. This is the case even in Matt xxvi 50, Lk xxii 53, where the Greek adopts the order usual in English. In Matt xxvi 50 the Greek has *ἐπέβαλον τὰς χεῖρας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ ἐκράτησαν αὐτῷ*. This does not go conveniently into Syriac, for ܒܗ ܥܠ is a little too heavy to be put between ܫܕܘ and ܐܝܕܝ. Accordingly *S* has

ܫܕܘ ܒܗ ܥܠ ܝܫܘܥ ܘܐܚܕܘ ܐܝܕܝܗܘܢ

But syr.vg is corrected back to the Greek. It has

ܫܕܘ ܐܝܕܝܗܘܢ ܒܗ ܥܠ ܝܫܘܥ ܘܐܚܕܘ

in accordance with the Greek order of the words. ܐܝܕܝ, being no longer at the end of the clause, receives a suffix, as in Matt xix 13, 15, and thus the distinction between laying one's hands on a person for blessing and laying them on for violence is obliterated.

ܐܚܪ.—See on *Nöldeke* § 87.

ܐܢ.—ܐܢܫ ܒ and ܐܢܫ ܒܬ is the constant spelling in *S* but in *C* ܐܢܫ and ܐܢܫܬ occur occasionally[1].

ܐܝܬ.—The sing. abs. of this word is spelt ܐܝܬ in *S*: the same spelling is found in *C* at Joh iv 37, v 32, vii 33, always at the end of a line. ܐܝܬ also occurs in cod. A of Aphraates (e.g. *Wright*, p. 156), and in cod. B (*Wright*, p. 48), but I have only noticed it once in the MSS of syr.vg, *viz.* Matt xi 3 in Mr Gwilliam's cod. 36.

ܐܝܬܝ, therefore, which stands at the end of a line for αλλοις in Mk x 40 *S*, is almost certainly meant for a plural, the scribe having probably intended to write ܐܝܬܝܢ.

The emph. is always spelt ܐܝܬܐ in *S*, but ܐܝܬܐ occurs in *C* at Lk viii 8 and a few other places.

ܐܒܝܒ.—The form ܐܒܝܒܐ Joh vii 42 *S*^{ed} is a mere error of transcription: ܐܒܝܒ is quite clear in the photograph.

ܐܗܠܐ.—ܐܗܠܐ 'roof,' 'dwelling,' and ܐܒܗܠܐ pl. ܬܗܠܐ, 'booth,' have been confused in my translation, and the words are certainly confused in syr.vg. But I now believe they were kept distinct in *S* and *C*. The 'dwelling' of the Centurion (Matt viii 8, Lk vii 9) and the 'dwelling' of the birds of the heaven (Matt viii 20, Lk ix 58) is ܐܗܠܐ. But the 'booths' which S. Peter wished to set up at the Transfiguration (Matt xvii 4, Mk ix 5, Lk ix 33) the everlasting 'habitations' of the parable (Lk xvi 9)[2], and the 'Tabernacles' of the Feast (Joh vii 2, 14) are ܬܗܠܐ, corresponding to *σκηναί, σκηνοπηγία*, in the Greek.

Among anomalous nouns may be put ܫܒܥ 'seven' Mk viii 5, 6 *S*, Lk xx 29 *S*, ܫܒܥܬܝܢ Mk xii 23 *S*, ܫܒܬܐ 'Sabbath' Lk xiii 14 *S*^{ed}, and ⌜ܫܒܬ⌝ ܒܫܒܬ Lk x 17 *S*^{ed}. In the last two passages the photograph is illegible, but all four spellings may be held to hang together. These variations of the ordinary ܫܒܥ, ܒܫܒ, ܫܒܬ, are all the more interesting because they are found in the Christian Palestinian Aramaic, as well as in various forms of Jewish Aramaic.

Equally suggestive of early forms of Aramaic is ܕܟ Matt xiii 35 *S*. It occurs at the beginning of a line, where there was plenty of room for ܕܟܐ, so there is no reason to regard it merely as a defective spelling.

[1] E.g. Matt. xix 6, Lk ix 25^{b}.

[2] In *S* read ܕܬܗܠܝܢ as in *C*, with one ܠ only.

פם is always written without ו in the Aramaic portions of Daniel, and with a suffix we find בְּפֻמֵּה (Dan vii 5). פמי appears actually to occur in the old Aramaic inscription from Nerab near Aleppo.

Numbers.

[*Nöldeke* § 148.] The numbers in *S* and *C* call for few remarks. ܫܒܥܐ for ܫܒܥ (Lk xx 29 *S*) has been noticed above. In two places *S* appears to have a false concord, for we find ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܫܥ Joh i 39 and ܬܪܥܝ ܫܥ Mk ix 2. Such false concords are extremely uncommon: I have not found any example noted in Mr Gwilliam's apparatus to the Peshitta Gospels.

Decapolis is rendered ܕܩܛܦܘܠܝܣ ܥܣܪ̈ܝ in *S C*, as in syr.vg. But ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων Matt xxiv 31 is rendered ܡܢ ܐܪ̈ܒܥ ܪ̈ܘܚ̈ܐ in *S*, where syr.vg has ܡܢ ܐܪ̈ܒܥ ܣܛܪ̈ܐ; in Mk xiii 27 ܡܢ ܐܪ̈ܒܥ ܣܛܪ̈ܐ ܪ̈ܘܚ̈ܐ is found both in *S* and syr.vg.

Particles.

[*Nöldeke* § 155.] A. Adverbs of Quality:

ܟܠ for ὅλως does not occur. In its place we find the very curious locution ܠܐ ܐܦ̈ܣ Matt v 34 *S C* (so also Aphraates 505); and in Joh ix 34 *S* has ܟܠ ܐܦ̈ܣ. For the meaning see *Notes* on Matt v 34.

ܐܦ̈ occurs Matt xv 32 *C*, but not in *S* or syr.vg.

The adverbial termination ܐܝܬ- is written fully in *S* and *C* almost always, but we find ܐܝܬܝ Lk xxii 62 *C*, ܐܝܬ Lk xxiii 47 *C*, in each case at the end of a line. ܐܝܬ occurs Matt xxi 29 *C*, but *S* has ܡܢܐܝܬ. In Matt xxi 37 (where syr.vg has ܐܝܬ) we find ܡܢܐܝܬ in *S*, ܡܢܐ in *C*.

B. Adverbs of Time and Place:

ܒܫܢ̈ occurs in Lk xiii 9 *S C* for εἰς τὸ μέλλον, as in syr.vg. I have translated it 'next season,' but the precise meaning of the phrase is as doubtful as its derivation.

ܐܝܟ 'where?' and ܕ ܐܝܟ 'where' is found in *S*, but side by side with it is found another form ܐܝܟܐ, especially in S. John, which appears to be otherwise unknown. ܐܝܟ occurs in *S* Matt xxiv 28, xxvi 13, 17; Mk ix 18[vid], xiv 12, 14 *bis*; Lk viii 25, xii 17, xvii 37[b],

xxii 11[b]; Joh vii 35, viii 22(?), xiv 4, xvi 5, xx 2, 13, 15, xxi 18[a]. On the other hand ܐܝܟܐ occurs Matt ii 2, 4; Mk xv 47; Lk xvii 7, 37[a], xxii 9[vid], 11[a]; Joh i 28, 38, 39, iii 8[b], vii 11, viii 14[b], 19, ix 12, xi 34, xii 35, xiii 36, xiv 5. It will be seen that the two forms are used indiscriminately, even in the same verse. ܐܝܟ ܐܝܟܐ occurs Mk xiv 14 *S*: ܐܝܟ occurs Lk xix 23 *C*, Lk xx 5 *SC*.

Among the linguistic peculiarities of *S* is a curious preference for ܡܢ ܐܝܟܐ, i.e. 'from whence,' instead of ܐܝܟܐ 'whence.' In eighteen passages where ܐܝܟܐ occurs in the extant parts of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, ܡܢ is prefixed 13 times in *S*, only 8 times in syr.vg. In *C* ܡܢ is prefixed 8 times out of fifteen, six of them being in S. John.

For the use of ܗܘ ܕܐܠ etc. in rendering *οὖν*, see the *Appendix* at the end of this Chapter.

Among the words for 'immediately' ܡܕ ܒܬܪܝܬ is much the most frequently used in *S* and *C* in Matt and Mk, but ܒܗܪܝܬ ܕ and ܡܚܝܬ are also found. ܡܚܝܬ is written ܡܢ ܫܥܐ in Mk vi 45 *S*, and ܚܫܐ occurs Mk vi 25 *S*, Joh xiii 32 *S*. ܡܢ ܠܥܠܡ ܠܐ ܕܝܢ occurs in *S C* for *ἐξαίφνης* Lk ix 39 and for *αἰφνίδιος* Lk xxi 34[1].

ܒܐܝܟ ܕܡܠܐ (*sic*) for *ἐν στιγμῇ χρόνου* Lk iv 5 *S* is worth notice as an idiomatic rendering.

C. Adverbs of Quality and Conjunctions.

ܐܦ occurs Lk xvi 11, xx 17, xxii 70, both in *S* and in *C*, as the equivalent of *οὖν*, in Lk xxiii 3 *S* (not *C*) and in Joh xi 37 *S* (*hiat C*) without any Greek equivalent. This word is only found in the oldest Syriac literature, and seems to mean 'forsooth,' always with a touch of contempt. I suppose it was considered too lively a particle to be retained in Scripture. It has been allowed no place in the Peshitta, and it has been diligently washed out in each of the three passages where it occurs in *C*. This does not appear to have been the case in *S*, for where a letter has been washed out in *S* by a corrector before it was turned into a palimpsest it is now totally illegible[2]. But what has happened in *C* has happened also in Aphraates, who

[1] The same phrase occurs in syr.vg for *ἐξαίφνης* Ac ix 3, xxii 6, but in the Gospels only the ordinary phrases ܡܢ ܠܥܠܡ and ܡܢ ܥܠ have been allowed to stand.

[2] E.g. the first letter of ܕ[ܐ]ܠ Lk xii 31.

when quoting 1 Cor xv 29 has

ܡܬܝܗܒ ܠܗ ܕܐ ܡܬܝܬܝܢ ܒܥܕ ܡܢܘ.

and in quoting 1 Cor xv 32

ܐܢ ܠܐ ܡܬܝܬܝܢ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܡܝܬ ܡܢܘ.

(*Wright*, p. 157). At least this is what the two MSS originally had, as I was able to see after a careful examination in a good light. But in the former passage both MSS now have ܐܝ ; and in 1 Cor xv 32 the one MS (A^b) has ܐܝܟ (i.e. ܐܝ), and the other (A^a) has ܐܝܟܡ. Both sets of corrections appear to be quite late.

The particle ܠܡ, used in quoting other people's words, very much after the manner of 'says he' or *φησί*, is found in Matt xvi 13 *S C*, Lk xiv 17 *S C*, and Joh xii 34 *S* (*hiat C*). ܠܡ, like ܐܦ, has been banished from the Peshitta Gospels, but in the Epistles it is very suitably retained in Col ii 21, 2 Thess ii 2. In this point, as in others, the Gospels were more drastically revised than the rest of the N.T.

ܐܝ is spelt ܐ̈ in Matt xii 33 S^{ed}, Lk xviii 25 *S*, but possibly these were merely slips in writing. ܐ̈ (=*γὰρ*) is however the spelling found in Palestinian Syriac documents.

ܠ never occurs in the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, simple ܠ̈ or ܠ̈ ܐܦ being used instead.

ܐܦܐ occurs Mk xi 13 *S*, as a rendering of *εἰ ἄρα*.

[*Nöldeke* § 156.] The Prepositions in *S* and *C* shew few peculiarities of form: for syntactical uses, see on *Nöldeke* §§ 246–252.

In Lk ix 23 ,ܐܚܪܝ ܒܬܪܝ in *S*, followed by ,ܐܚܪ ܒܬܪܝ, appears to be an attempt to distinguish between the *ὀπίσω μου ἔρχεσθαι* and *ἀκολουθείτω μοι* of the Greek. I have not met with any other resolution of ܐܚܪ into its original elements.

Verbs.

[*Nöldeke* § 158.] The longer form of the 3rd pers. pl. masc. of the Perfect occurs in ܐܬܦܬܚܘ Joh xi 46 *S* (*sic*). The 3rd pl. fem. Perf. is identical with the 3rd sing. masc. in *S* and *C*, as in all other ancient Edessene MSS, except in verbs *tertiae* ܐ[1]. But in the Imperative pl.

[1] I.e. 'my eyes were opened' is ܥܝܢ ܐܬܦܬܚ, not ܥܝܢ ܐܬܦܬܚܘ. In the case of a palimpsest like *S*, often very difficult to read, there might in some case be a doubt whether a

fem. the longer form in *ên* is used, as in the Peshitta, e.g. ܐܙܠܝܢ Lk xxiv 6 *S C*. In Mk xvi 7 for ὑπάγετε εἴπατε Dr Harris edited ܙܠ ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ, my transcript has ܙܠ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ̈ܘܢ. It is therefore probable that the former of the two verbs has no *nûn* at the end: the photograph is unfortunately illegible.

[*Nöldeke* § 160.] ܐܦܬܚ Lk ix 32 *S* must be a mere orthographical miswriting of ܐܬܦܬܚ, not a relic of an intransitive *i*-form. In several other places *S* has a twist too many, identical in shape with the small letter *yôd*, e.g. ܡܬܥܣܝܪ (for ܡܬܥܣܪ) Matt xvii 19, ܠܡܣܝܒ (for ܠܡܣܒ) Matt xix 25, ܡܬܥܣܝܡ (for ܡܬܥܣܡ) Joh viii 57.

For ܒܡܐ instead of ܒܡܐ, see on *Nöldeke* § 183.

[*Nöldeke* § 172.] ܐܟܐ Lk xvii 3 *S* is no doubt a scribe's blunder for ܐܟ. Both *S* and *C* correctly read ܐܟ in Lk xix 39.

[*Nöldeke* § 173.] For the Imperative of ܐܬܐ, *S* has ܐܐܬܐ Joh xiv 15 and ܐܬ Joh xvii 11. For ܐܬ Matt xix 17 *C* we find ܐܬܐ in *S*, i.e. the Pael. The Imperative Peal of ܨܒ 'to knock' occurs Lk xi 9 *S C* in the ordinary form ܐܨܒ, and the Perfect occurs in Lk xii 36, but in Lk xi 10, xiii 25 (where *C* has the Participles ܨܒ, ܡܨܒ), we find ܩܨܒ and ܡܩܨܒ in *S*, i.e. the Aphel participles *maqqesh, maqqĕshîn*. These appear to be the only passages where the Aphel of this verb is used in Edessene, but ܡܩܨܒ occurs in the Christian Palestinian Lectionary at Lk xiii 25. Here again therefore a peculiarity of *S* finds illustration from other Aramaic dialects.

[*Nöldeke* § 174.] For ܐܙܠ and ܐܡܪ, see on *Nöldeke* § 183.

[*Nöldeke* § 177.] ~~ܢܨܒ~~ Lk xii 1 *S*, ~~ܡܫܟܚ~~ Lk xiii 3 *S*, and ~~ܫܒ~~ (imptv.) Lk ix 44 *S*, are simply instances of *scriptio defectiva* for ~~ܢܬܨܒ~~, ~~ܡܫܟܚ~~ and ~~ܫܬܒ~~: they do not imply any difference of grammatical form.

[*Nöldeke* § 183: *the anomalous Verbs.*]

ܐܡܪ and ܐܙܠ.—In the Imperative of these verbs the initial ܐ is sometimes not dropped in *S*, particularly in S. Matthew. The instances

mere twist were added at the end of a word like ܡܫܟܚ or not; what makes it almost certain that such a twist is never added is that verbs ending in ܥ and ܪ never add the *yod*. Thus in Matt xxv 5 we have ܢܥܣ and ܢܡܟ, not ~~ܢܥܣ~~ and ~~ܢܡܟ~~: both in Matt xxiv 32 and in Mk xiii 28 *S* reads ܐܦ not ~~ܐܦ~~. In ZDMG xxvii 572 (*Cyrillona* ii 194) Bickell edited ~~ܢܫ~~, but I have ascertained that the original reading of B.M. Add. 14591 is ~~ܥ~~. Curiously enough, Gwilliam's cod. 36 reads ~~ܢܥ~~ for ~~ܢܥ~~ in Matt xiii 6, where the word is masc. sing.

are (1) for ܐܬܐ and ܐܬܝ, Matt xi 28, xix 21, xxii 4; Lk ix 59; (2) for ܐܝܬ and ܐܝܬܝ, Matt ii 20, v 41, viii 4, 9, ix 6, 13, xvii 27; Mk vii 29 (ܐܝܬܝ); Lk vii 22, x 3, xiii 31, xxii 10. It will be seen that no example of this spelling occurs in S. John.

The fem. pl. Imperative of ܐܬܐ is spelt ܐܬܝ in Matt xxviii 6 *S*, the only passage where it occurs.

ܐܬܝ.—In Lk xvii 23 *S* we find ܠܐ ܐܬܝ so written, from which perhaps we may infer that the vowelless ܬ was unpronounced, and so became liable to be dropped in writing.

ܢܬܝ.—In three places we find ܢܬܝ written in *S*, where the sense is passive and we should expect ܢܬܝܒ. The passages are

(1) ܠܟ ܢܬܝ ܗܘ ܪܙܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܟ *To you is given the mystery of the kingdom of God* (Mk iv 11 *S*);

(2) ܠܟ ܐܬܝܗܒ ... ܕܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܝ ܗܘ ܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܗܕܐ ܢܬܝ ܗܘ ܠܟ *To thee I give this authority...because to me it is given* (Lk iv 6 *S*);

(3) ܘܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܗ ܣܦܪ ܐܝܣܝܐ[17] ... ܘܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܗ ܣܦܪ ܐܝܣܝܐ ... ܘܥܠ ܠܒܝܬ ܟܢܫܬܐ ... ܐܝܟ ܕܪܓܠ ܗܘܐ ܒܗ ܐܬܝ ܗܘ ܐܬܝ ܗܘ ܐܬܝ ܗܘ

dealing with something more than a slip in writing. It would be intolerably harsh to translate the passages impersonally, and at first I believed that they contained a relic of the old Passive formed by internal vowel change, instances of which survive in Biblical Aramaic. יְהַב actually occurs in Dan vii 14. But in the passage just quoted from Aphraates 114 the word ܝܗܒ, however pronounced, must be a Participle : it cannot be a Perfect tense. Moreover, as all the instances of this defective spelling concern the verb ܝܗܒ the explanation must be specially suited to that word. I therefore conjecture that when ܝܗܒ is written for the Pass. Part. the ܐ is intended to be elided, and that just as in the Perfect original *yĕhaβ* has become *yaβ*, so in the Participle original *yĕhîβ* became *yîβ* or *îβ*: that is to say, we should *point* the word ܝܗ̀ܒ.

The spelling ܝܗܒ for ܝܗܒܐ is also found in Christian Palestinian documents, *viz.* Matt xix 11 codd. ABC, Lk vii 25 codd. BC, Joh vi 66 cod. B, Joh vii 39 codd. BC, Joh xix 11 codd. BC; also in Mrs Lewis's *Praxapostolos* Gen ix 17, Exod xi 5 (*sic*)[1].

[*Nöldeke* § 184 ff.: *the Verbal Suffixes.*] The Verbal Suffixes are regular in *C*, so far as the consonantal writing is concerned, but in *S* there are found some rare and some otherwise almost unattested forms, especially in the 3rd sing. masc. suffix to the Imperfect.

§§ 188, 189. The forms found in *S* are

,ܢܩܛܠܗ	,ܢܩܛܠܘܗ
,ܢܩܛܠܗ	,ܢܩܛܠܘܗ
,ܢܩܛܠܗ	ܢܩܛܠܘܗ

with corresponding forms for ܠܩܛܠ, ܠܩܛܪ, etc. The form ܢ̂ܩ̂ܛ̂ܠ̂ܗ does not occur either in *S* or *C*; on the other hand ܢܩܛܠܘܗ is much commoner than ,ܢܩܛܠܘܗ both in *S* and in *C*. Examples of the irregular forms in *S* are given below. It will be noticed that they are less frequent in S. Matthew than elsewhere.

(1) Forms in ,ܢ- (see also on § 195) :—,ܢܬܫܬܝ Matt xxiv 46 (*contrast* Lk xii 43); ,ܢܠܟܪܟ Mk vi 24 (*contrast* Matt xiv 7), ,ܢܬܒܕܢ Mk ix 22, ,ܢܬܥܠܩܢ Mk xiv 10, 11 (*contrast* Matt xxvi 16),

[1] In the last instance ܐܬܝ means simply 'is' or 'is to be found,' just as ܝܗܒ in Lk vii 25 corresponds to *ὑπάρχοντες*.

ܬܐܝܗܘܢ Mk xiv 58 (*contrast* Matt xxvi 61); ܬܐܠܝܢ Lk xii 44, ܬܐܙܠܘ .... ܬܐܠܘ Lk xii 46[1], ܬܐܫܐܠ Lk xx 18, ܬܐܦܘ Lk xxiv 21; ܬܐܥܒܕܐ Joh iv 34; ܬܐܥܒܕ .... ܬܐܫܠܛ Joh x 18 (both apparently meant for fem. suffixes, as in Lk xii 46), ܬܐܡܪܗ .... ܬܐܡܪ ܐܝܬ Joh xii 47, 48, ܬܐܥܒܕ Joh xiii 2, ܬܐܫܠܛ ܬܐܝܬ Joh xiv 21.

(2) Forms in ܬܐ- (see also on § 195):—ܬܐܠܝܢ Matt xxiv 47[2]; ܬܐܙܠܘ Lk xii 42[3], ܬܐܫܐܠ Lk xvi 27, ܬܐܙܠ Lk xxiii 16, 22; ܬܐܡܪ Joh iii 17, ܬܐܙܠ Joh vi 40, 54, ܬܐܝܬ Joh xi 11.

(3) The Plural forms in ܡܢ- and ܬܡܢ- need no illustration; it is sufficient to observe that ܡܢܐ and ܡܢܙܠܘ occur Lk v 18 *S*, but ܬܢܐ Lk v 19 *S*. The following instances of ܬܡܢ- are found in *S*:—ܬܐܥܒ Mk ix 32, ܬܡܢܐ Lk xxiv 16, ܬܐܡܪ Joh vi 15, ܬܡܢܫ Joh viii 28, ܬܡܢ Joh xii 10, ܬܐܥܒ Joh xviii 28[4]. ܬܡܢ also occurs in Lk xxii 2 *C*, where *S* has ܬܡܢ-.

§ 190. The regular form of the Impt. masc. pl. with suffix occurs in ܬܐܝܗܘ Joh xviii 31 *S* (*sic*), but for verbs with initial ܐ we find ܬܐܝܡܪ 'say ye it' Matt x 27 *S*, ܬܐܝܬ 'take ye him' Matt xxii 13 *S*, Mk xiv 44 *S*.

In the Sing. we have the regular forms ܬܡܩܛ Mk xv 14 *S* (and in Lk xxiii 21 *C*), also ܬܡܢ Lk xxiii 18 *S*, but in Lk xxiii 21 *S* has ܬܡܩ, ܬܡܩ for *σταύρου σταύρου*.

[*Nöldeke* § 192 ff. *Verbs with final* ܐ *and suffixes.*]

§ 194. In the forms of the 3rd pl. masc. Perf. with suffixes we find -ܥܥ- always written in *S* for -ܥܐ-, and generally in *C*. Thus we have ܬܡܥܫ Matt ii 10, 11 *S C*, Matt xxi 28 *S C*, Lk xx 14 *S C*; but ܬܡܐܫ occurs Matt xiv 26 *C*, where *S* has ܥܫ without a suffix[5]. With a fem. we find ܡܥܠܗ Matt xiii 48 *S*.

In Mk vi 49 *S* ܬܡܥܫ is the 3rd pl. masc. Perf. in *-ûn-* with suffix. The word was so read by the late Professor Bensly and myself at Sinai, but the form is said to be otherwise unknown in these verbs and I

[1] Possibly these words were meant for the fem., i.e. ܡܢܙܠܘ ܡܢܗ ܡܢܠܘ: *cf* Joh x 18.

[2] I am not quite sure that the true reading of *S* may not be ܬܐܠܝܢ. On the other hand in Matt xxi 38 the photograph of *S* appears to me to suggest ܬܡܠܝܢ.

[3] Photograph illegible.

[4] In ܡܢܙܠ Mk x 33 *S* the ܙ is no doubt intrusive.

[5] ܬܡܐܫ also occurs in the ancient palimpsest fragments of the *Acts of Thomas* (= *Wright* 312[19]).

confess that the photograph now suggests to me ,ܡܐܐܘ as the reading of the MS, a form which actually occurs in the following verse, Mk vi 50.

§ 195. Instances of the irregular suffixes to the Imperfect are given below from *S*.

(1) Forms in ,ܡ- (see above on §§ 188, 189) :—,ܡܚܠܛ ܠܟ Matt v 42 (*sic*), Lk vi 29 ; ,ܡܫܒܩ Mk xii 15 ; ,ܡܫܕܪ Lk xxiii 20, ,ܡܫܒܩ Lk xxiii 22 ; ,ܡܫܒܩܐ Joh xii 47, ,ܡܐܫܒܩܐ Joh xiv 21.

(2) Forms in ,ܡܐ- :— ,ܡܐܫܒܩ Lk xxiii 16[1].

§ 196. In the Imperative, as in the Perfect, we find in *S* -ܐܐ- instead of -ܐܩ- : e.g. ,ܡܐܐܒܕܩ Lk xix 30 *S* (but ,ܡܐܩܒܕܩ *C*) ; ,ܡܐܐܝܒ Matt xxii 9 *S*, ,ܡܐܐܝܬ Joh xi 44 *S*. ,ܡܐܒܕܩܐ Mk xi 2 *S* is probably a mere slip in writing. The Imptv. pl. of ,ܐܐ, with suffix of 1st pers. sing., is ,ܫܐܐܐ Matt ii 8, xxii 19, Lk xx 24 in *S*, but *C* has the regular form ,ܫܐܩܐ in all three passages.

In the Infinitive of these verbs, besides the regular forms we find ,ܡܫܬܠ 'to see him' Lk xxiii 8 *S*.

These irregular suffixes, which are one of the most striking grammatical peculiarities of *S*, have some slight attestation in other Syriac documents. An instance occurs, curiously enough, in the dedication prefixed by Habibai to Codex *C* itself where we find ,ܡܐܫܐ for ,ܡܐܫܐ : this may however have been a mere error of the writer. Of much more importance is the occurrence of ,ܡܐܝܫܒܩܐ in Aphraates cod. A (i.e. A^a, *Wright*, p. 169), in a quotation of Joh xi 11, the same passage where it is found in *S*. It is therefore clear that these peculiar suffixes are not merely due to some accident of transcription in the Sinai Palimpsest. They are doubtless genuine remains of that early stage of Edessene Syriac, of which the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* is the only well preserved monument : of these suffixes, as of other features, we may say with Wellhausen, "man gewinnt den Eindruck, dass solche Raritäten stehn gebliebene Reste sind, dass schon im Sin. und Cur. die stilistische Korrektur begonnen hat, die in der Peschita (namentlich des Neuen Testaments) entschiedener, wenngleich auch nicht systematisch durchgeführt ist[2]."

[1] ,ܡܐܫܒܩ also occurs in *Cyrillona* i 12 and in the ancient palimpsest fragments of the *Acts of Thomas* (corresponding to ,ܡܐܫܒܩ *Wright* 315[8]).

[2] J. Wellhausen in *Nachrichten der k. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu* Göttingen. *Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1895, i, p. 5.

Syntax.

The following remarks do not profess to be anything like a complete account of the Syntax of *S* and *C*, or even of their peculiarities of Syntax. As was remarked at the beginning of this Section, the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* is written in idiomatic Edessene Syriac: the most notable peculiarity of *S* and *C* is not the presence of this or that idiom, but their freedom from that imitation of Greek constructions which pervades so much of the later Syriac literature.

[*Nöldeke* § 202 B.] ܚܩܠ ܕܡܐ (i.e. "Bloodfield") Matt xxvii 8 *S* is an interesting example of the Absolute state in proper names. It is curious that the Syriac should have avoided the obvious rendering ܚܩܠ ܕܡܐ, found in the Latin and in the Palestinian Syriac texts[1].

Equally noteworthy is ܡܠܟ Joh xviii 10 *S* (*sic*), because it shews that the translator of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* recognised the genuine Semitic name which appears in the Greek as Μάλχος. The name is actually written מלכו in a number of Palmyrene inscriptions of the 1st cent. AD and is doubtless identical with the common Arabic name مَالِكٌ *Mâlik*^{un}. The Peshitta has ܡܠܟ *Mâlêχ*, without the final ܐ: probably by the 5th century the ܐ had become unfamiliar as an ending to masculine names, and ܡܠܟ only sounded like the abs. sing. of ܡܠܟܐ. Similarly in Nehem vi 6 גשמו becomes ܓܫܡ in syr.vg.

[§ 202 C.] The curious phrase ܛܒܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܕܒܝܫܐ ܠܟܘܢ Matt xiii 48 *S C* appears to mean "they chose out the fishes whatever good ones there were." A doubled *adverb* is normal in Syriac, as in the phrase ܕܒܝܫ ܒܝܫ ܚܒܝܠܝܢ, used for οἱ κακῶς ἔχοντες in the Peshitta as well as in *S C*. But the use of a plural *adjective* in this distributive sense is very uncommon and seems to have been a puzzle to the translator of the Armenian version of the Gospel. A good example of the distributive use of the absolute state is ܫܢܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ for κατ' ὄψιν Joh vii 24 *S C*. The Peshitta has ܒܚܙܘܬ ܕܫܪܝܪܐ.

[1] The Palestinian Lectionary has for Matt xxvii 8

ܠܚܡ ܒܚܘܪܢ ܕܐܪܥܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܩܪܐ ܠܗ ܚܩܠ ܕܡܐ

Land's ancient *cod. Petropolitanus* (a MS of the continuous Gospel text) has

ܠܚܡ ܒܚܘܪܢ ܥܡ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܩܪܐ ܠܗ ܚܩܠ ܕܡܐ

[*Nöldeke* § 208 A.] ܟܕ ܗܘ ܕܝܢ Lk xv 15 *S* is an instance of the somewhat careless construction mentioned by Duval (*Grammaire Syriaque* § 357 *f*), who quotes ܐܠܐ ܗܘ ܒܥܝܪ ܕܐܝ from *B.O.* i 365. In Lk xv 15 *C* has ܗܘ ܟܕ ܕܝܢ, but in Lk xix 39 both *S* and *C* have ܡܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܗܘ ܠܗ.

[*Nöldeke* § 210.] ܟܠ ܡܕܝܢܬ ܓܠܝܠ *'every village of Galilee'* Lk v 17 *S* is a good instance of the use of the absolute state before a genitive.

[*Nöldeke* § 212.] In Lk xxiii 2 *καὶ λέγοντα ἑαυτὸν χριστὸν βασιλέα εἶναι* is translated in *S C* ܕܐܡܪ ܕܐܢܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܡܠܟܐ ܗܘ ܠܢܦܫܗ. The last two words agree letter for letter with the Jewish מלכא משיחא, commonly translated 'King Messiah.' But Dr Dalman (*Worte Jesu* 240) has shewn that it is a mistake to treat 'Messiah' in this phrase as a proper name, and that we should render it 'the Anointed King.' And this also agrees with the usage of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* and the Peshitta, for the Syriac not only has 'Herod the king' in Matt ii 3, Mk vi 14, where the better Greek texts have *ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡρῴδης*, but also 'Augustus Caesar' in Lk ii 1, although 'Caesar Augustus' is the order found in all other authorities. In Lk xxiii 2, therefore, ܕܐܡܪ ܕܐܢܐ should be translated 'an anointed king' rather than 'King Messiah.'

[*Nöldeke* § 217.] ܠܐ for ܠܐ ܕܢܬܩ is now attested by *S* in Joh iii 35, as well as Aphraates 123. On the other hand the Peshitta has ܠܐ in Joh i 3, where ܠܐ ܕܢܬܩ is read by *C* and by Ephraim (*Rom.* iv 18 E, *Lamy* ii 513).

[*Nöldeke* § 220 B.] By the dropping of a repeated ܡܢ the enclitic ـܐ occupies an unusual position in ܡܢ ـܐ ܐܡ ܐܚܝ ܕܐܢܐ 'Who's my mother or *who* are my brothers?' Matt xii 48 *S*. In the parallel passage Mk iii 33 the ـܐ is not present.

[*Nöldeke* § 222.] The idiom of a preposition followed by a pronominal suffix and ܕ is ingeniously used in Joh xi 32 *S*, where *ἦλθεν ὅπου ἦν* Ἰησοῦς is rendered ܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܪ ܗܘܐ ܥܠ ܝܫܘܥ. Similarly in Joh vii 42 *τῆς κώμης ὅπου ἦν Δαυείδ* is rendered ܡܢ ܟܦܪܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܒܝܬ ܕܘܝܕ by the Peshitta as well as *S C*. In each case the clumsy Johannine periphrasis is indicated without being allowed to hamper the movement of the sentence.

[*Nöldeke* § 223.] ܟܠ with suffix is twice used for ὅλως, *viz.* ܠܐ ܟܠܝܗ ܠܐ ܟܠܝܗ = μὴ ὁμόσαι ὅλως Matt v 34 *S C* and *A* 505, and again ܒܚܛܗܝܟ ܐܬܝܠܕܬ ܟܠܝܗ ܒܟ = ἐν ἁμαρτίαις σὺ ἐγεννήθης ὅλος Joh ix 34 *S*, where ὅλως is read for ὅλος in 1–118–131–209 and some other Greek MSS, as well as the Armenian vulgate. The same idiom has been left standing in 1 Cor vi 7 syr.vg, where ὅλως ἥττημα ὑμῖν ἐστίν is rendered ܐܝܬ ܠܟܘ ܒܝܢܟܘܢ ܟܠܝܗ, i.e. 'ye your own selves are guilty.'

[*Nöldeke* § 224*.] To render ὁ δαιμονισθείς Mk v 18 *S* has the characteristic Syriac idiom ܓܒܪܐ ܕܐܫܬܥܒܕ ܒܗ, and this reappears in the Peshitta as ,ܓܒܪܐ ܕܐܫܬܥܒܕ ܒܗ. But in Lk viii 36 ὁ δαιμονισθεὶς is only rendered in *S* and *C* by 'that man'; accordingly in the Peshitta we find ܗܘ ܓܒܪܐ ܕܒܗ ܐܝܬ 'that demoniac man.' Evidently ܕܒܗ ܐܝܬ was taken over from syr.vt, and ܗܘ ܓܒܪܐ added to give the sense of the Greek. In other words the text of the Peshitta in Lk viii 36 is conflate; we catch the reviser at work and see how his style differs from the idiomatic Syriac of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*.

[*Nöldeke* § 225.] ܗܠ is occasionally used in *S* and *C* to give emphasis, e.g. ܐܢܐ ܗܠ ܐܙܠ ܒܬܪ Matt v 11 *S* (*om.* ܗܠ *C*), where syr.vg has ,ܒܬܪ in agreement with the Greek ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ. Cases like ܠܡܐ ܗܠ ܬܥܒܕܘܢ Matt xiii 30 *C* (*om.* ܗܠ *S*), ܠܡܐ ܗܠ ܬܥܒܕܘܢ Lk xxii 30 *S* (,ܬܥܒܕܘܢ *C*), where ܗܠ appears to have no real force at all, are very uncommon and seem to be due to some accident of revision.

[*Nöldeke* § 228.] It is here very truly remarked by Nöldeke that the difference between ܐܠܝܢ 'those' and ܗܠܝܢ 'these' is often neglected in Syriac. Thus in Matt xxiii 23 ταῦτα...κἀκεῖνα is rendered by ܗܠܝܢ....ܗܠܝܢ in the Peshitta as well as in *S C*, although in other more important respects the Peshitta text of this verse has been conformed to the Greek.

[*Nöldeke* § 233.] ܡܢ ܫܡܟ stands for τί σοι ὄνομά ἐστιν; (Lk viii 30) in syr.vg as well as *S C*. This is no doubt the old Semitic idiom: it is found in the Hebrew text of Judges xiii 17 מי שמך, and in the Targum of Onkelos to Gen xxxii 27 we find מן שמך although the Massoretic Text here has מה שמך. The use of the phrase '*Who* is thy name?' is doubtless connected with that identification of the name with the personality, whereby in Semitic idiom the Name of God is

practically used for His personal character, as known to the worshipper.

[*Nöldeke* § 236 C.] In several passages, e.g. Matt xx 15, Lk x 23, Joh iv 22, *S* has ܐ ܠܐ where *C* and the Peshitta have ܐ ܡܛܠ. In a few places the Peshitta keeps ܐ ܠܐ with *S*, while *C* has the ordinary ܐ ܡܛܠ, e.g. Matt xviii 30.

[*Nöldeke* § 240 A.] ܫܒܥ ܫܒܥ [ܥܒܕܝܡ] ܥܕ ܫܒܥ Matt xviii 22 *S C* and *A* $^2/_2$, literally '*on* 70 [*times*] *seven seven*,' does not mean 3430 times but 490, as Aphraates especially declares (*Wright*, p. 298). ܫܒܥ ܫܒܥ means 'seven by seven,' i.e. 'in rows of seven.' When therefore the acts of forgiveness are piled in rows of seven upon seventy, we get 70×7, which is four hundred and ninety.

[*Nöldeke* § 243.] In Lk iv 40 δύνοντος τοῦ ἡλίου is rendered in *S* by the idiomatic ܒܥܕܢ ܕܫܡܫܐ, without ܒ prefixed, and this also is the reading of the Peshitta, as edited by Mr Gwilliam from the MSS. In Mk i 32 ܥܡ ܒܥܕܢ ܕܫܡܫܐ in *S* corresponds to ὀψίας δὲ γενομένης ὅτε ἔδυσεν ὁ ἥλιος, and in remedying the apparent deficiency syr.vg inserts the ܒ, ܕܫܡܫܐ no longer being the first word in the sentence (ܒܥܕܢ ܕܫܡܫܐ ܥܡ ܕܐܬܝ ܒܪܡܫܐ). Here again the effort to conform the Syriac to the Greek has resulted in the disappearance of a characteristic Syriac idiom.

[*Nöldeke* § 244.] For the omission of ܕܐ in short descriptive clauses, see on *Nöldeke* § 275.

[*Nöldeke* § 249 E.] The curiously slack construction sometimes used after ܡܢ in comparative clauses is found in Matt xviii 13 *S C* as well as in the Peshitta and Aphraates 142, where we read that the shepherd who has found the lost sheep "rejoiceth over it *more than* the ninety and nine which have not gone astray" (....ܥܠ ܡܢ ܬܫܥܝܢ ܘܬܫܥܐ ܕܠܐ ܥܬܘ). The Greek is μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπὶ followed by a dative, but no Syriac authority reads the logically more correct ܥܠ ܡܢ ܕܥܠ. The same construction is found in Lk xv 7 *C*, but *S* followed by syr.vg reads ܥܠ ܐܠ instead of ܡܢ ܕܥܠ.

Similarly in Matt xxvii 9 there is nothing but the context to decide whether the prophet held the Christ dearer than he held the sons of Israel, or whether he held the Christ dearer than the sons of Israel did.

The use of ܐܢ instead of ܡܢ in comparisons, in imitation of (or at least corresponding to) the Greek ἤ, occurs several times in the Gospels, e.g. Matt xix 24 *S C*, confirmed by Aphraates 392. I see no reason to doubt that *S* in Lk xv 7 preserves the original rendering of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*: there are many characteristic variations in the early part of Lk xv where *S* differs both from *C* and the Peshitta, and it is more likely that *C* borrowed ܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ in *v.* 7 from the parallel passage Matt xviii 13 or from the Diatessaron itself than that *S* should have adopted the one variation ܠܐ ܐܢ from the Peshitta.

The compound preposition ܡܢ ܠܘܬ corresponds to the French *de chez*, e.g. in Lk viii 37, and also in Matt viii 34 *S*, the Gadarenes beseech Jesus to depart ܡܢ ܠܘܬ. Similarly Judas comes with a multitude ܡܢ ܠܘܬ ܟܗܢܐ ܘܣܦܪܐ Matt xxvi 47, Mk xiv 43, the Greek being ἀπὸ in Matt but παρὰ in Mk. It is a little less direct than the simple ܡܢ and gives the impression that the place of departure is, so to speak, a little more complex and less personal. Accordingly it is used of God, in exactly the same way as מן קדם is used in Jewish Aramaic. Our Lord is thus said to have come forth ܡܢ ܠܘܬ ܐܠܗܐ in Joh xiii 3 *S* (= ἀπὸ θεοῦ) and in Joh xvi 27 *S*-vg (= παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ). But there can have been very little significance in the periphrasis, for παρὰ σοῦ is rendered in *S* by ܡܢ ܠܘܬ in Joh xvii 7 and by ܡܢ in *v.* 8. In Matt xxi 42 and Mk xii 11 ('From the Lord this came to pass') all the Syriac texts have ܡܢ ܠܘܬ ܡܪܝܐ, but the Peshitta of Ps. cxviii (cxvii) 23 has the characteristically Jewish ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܡܪܝܐ.

[*Nöldeke* § 250*c*.] For 'demoniac possession' in the Synoptic Gospels the Syriac vulgate uses the preposition ܒ, e.g. 'a demon is *in* him' Matt xi 18, '*in whom* was a demon' Lk viii 27; in S. John δαίμονιον ἔχεις is literally translated ܠܟ ܒܟ ܫܪܝܐ '*thou hast* a demon.' But in *S* and *C* this ܠ is never used and its place is supplied by ܒ or ܠܘܬ, e.g. ܠܟ ܒܟ ܫܪܝܐ Joh vii 20 *S C*, ܠܗ ܠܘܬ ܒܗ ܫܪܝܐ Joh viii 48, 52 *S* (*hiat C*), and ܒܗ ܫܪܝܐ ,ܠܘܬ ܒܗ ܫܪܝܐ 'on whom was a devil' Lk viii 27 *S C*. What was meant by this is evident from the picturesque expression ܒܗ ܪܟܝܒ ܠܘܬ ܫܪܝܐ 'whom a devil was riding' (or, as we say, 'devil-ridden'), found in Matt ix 32 *S* for δαιμονιζόμενον[1].

[1] This use of ܠܘܬ is also found in the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary, e.g. ܠܗ ܠܘܬ ܥܕ Joh vii 20.

[*Nöldeke* § 251.] In Lk x 30 *S* agrees with *C* in translating ἡμιθανὴς by ܒܝܢ ܡܝܬ ܘܚܝ '*between dead and alive.*' The Peshitta is widely different. In Lk xvii 11 the addition of ܠܐܪܝܚܐ by *C* to the phrase ܠܘܬ ܐܬܪ ܕܝܪܚܘ is not found in *S*, and it probably means '*to* Jericho.' It cannot therefore be brought forward as a parallel to ܠܘܬ ܐܝܠ ܐܬܪ ܕܐܒܪ Ephr. *Overbeck* 147 *ult.*, quoted by Nöldeke: see further the Note on Lk xvii 11.

[*Nöldeke* § 263.] The tenses are employed normally in *S* and *C*, and call for no special remark here except as regards the Pluperfect, i.e. the Perfect followed by ܗܘܐ. In my translation I have ventured uniformly to translate these Syriac Perfects with ܗܘܐ by the English Pluperfect, in spite of the occasional harshness, as I believe the reader will thereby be better able to seize the point of view taken by the Syriac narrator in telling his tale. In a plain historical narrative we find in Syriac a series of verbs in the Perfect, varied occasionally by Perfects followed by ܗܘܐ or ܐܐܐ as the case may be. These latter Perfects with ܗܘܐ often occur in positions that obviously require us to use a Pluperfect in translation, but sometimes it is not so obvious and most translators then simply leave the ܗܘܐ untranslated. But to do this obliterates the march of the action as conceived by the Syriac mind. If I am right, we may regard a Syriac narrative as a series of *tableaux vivants*. The simple Perfects describe the action, the movement, which we are invited to witness; the Perfects with ܗܘܐ, on the other hand, describe the anterior action, the actions which we are not actually supposed ourselves to observe, but which have brought the *dramatis personae* into the required situation.

Thus in S. Mark's story of the cursing of the barren Fig-tree and the cleansing of the Temple, as told by *S*, the narrator wishes to invite us to see and hear the following actions. Our Lord *hungers*, *sees* a fig-tree, *comes* to it, *finds* nothing but leaves, *utters* a curse on it. The curtain then lifts on another scene: He *begins* to put out the buyers and sellers in the Temple, and during some time we see Him *stopping* the passengers, *teaching* and *saying* 'My House is a House of Prayer.' Then again the disciples *see* the fig-tree withered, and S. Peter *says* 'The fig-tree is withered,' and Jesus *answers* 'Have faith in God.' Then in another scene we see the chief Priests *come* to Jesus, and they *ask* for His authority and He *answers* them (S. Mark xi 12–29).

Here we have four scenes, two on the way and two in the Temple. The events which we are supposed to see and hear are told us in the simple Perfect. But the connecting links, the subsidiary, though necessary, actions that bring the actors into the required situations, are told us in the Pluperfect. How is it that Peter remembered (*v.* 21)? Because the disciples *had heard* (ܐܡܪ ܐܫܡܥ *v.* 14[b]). How is it that we find our Lord busy with the merchants in the Temple? Because He *had entered* the Temple (ܥܠ ܗܘܐ *v.* 15[a]). How is it that in the fourth scene our Lord is found in controversy with the chief priests? Because He and the disciples *had come* again to Jerusalem (ܐܬܐ ܗܘܐ *v.* 27[a]), and the chief priests *had heard* of His doings in the Temple (ܐܡܪ ܫܡܥ *v.* 18[a]).

The point is, that this tense describes a past scene. It may break the thread of the narrative to bring in a detail, but it does not carry the narrative forward. Wherever it appears there is a break of continuity[1]. A good example of this is Lk x 17 where *S* and *C* have ܐܡܪ ܐܬܐ, suggesting the break which is logically demanded after *v.* 16. The previous verses give one scene, containing our Lord's parting instructions to the Seventy-two: the following verses describe what was said when the Seventy-two *had returned*[2]. It is a question of pictorial effect, of the subordination of phrase. To neglect this subordination turns a Syriac narrative into a monotonous chain of statements and takes the life out of the action.

Naturally the proper grouping and subordination of the incidents in a story is a matter of individual taste, at least to some extent. We therefore find that editors often inserted or cut out the ܗܘܐ or ܐܡܪ. A series of instances will be found in Lk viii 19 ff, where *S* three times has a simple Perfect when *C* has the Pluperfect: Matt xxi 46 is another example of the same variation.

[*Nöldeke* § 274.] The 'historic present' is rare in Syriac, but several clear instances occur in *S*: e.g. Matt xx 11 when the Labourers saw, they *murmur* (ܡܠܝܢ, *Gr.* ἐγόγγυζον); Matt xxiv 1 when...the disciples drew near, they *shew* Him the buildings (ܡܚܙܝܢ, *Gr.* ἐπιδεῖξαι); Matt xxvii 19 Pilate's wife *sendeth word* to him (ܫܕܪܬ, *Gr.* ἀπέστειλεν);

[1] It is, in fact, the exact opposite of the Arabic ف or the Hebrew strong ו.

[2] A similar break in narration is to be found in Lk i 62 *S*.

Mk vi 5 on a few infirm folk He *layeth* His hands and they were healed (ܐܬܐ, *Gr.* ἐπιθεὶς [...ἐθεράπευσεν]); Lk viii 4, for συνιόντος *S* has ܕܓܡ ܥܡܗ, *C* has ܕܓܡ ܥܡܗ ܗܘܐ, syr.vg has ܗܘܐ ܥܡ ...ܕܓܡ.

These examples, in all of which the tense used is clear from the consonantal writing, raise the question whether we ought not sometimes to point verbs as Participles rather than Perfects in cases where the consonantal writing does not distinguish between them. The point which distinguishes ܩܛܠ *killing* from ܩܛܠ *he killed* is never found in *S* or *C*, so that we are entirely dependent on analogy and such tradition as is afforded us by the transmitted vocalisation of the Peshitta[1].

[*Nöldeke* § 275.] Circumstantial clauses are expressed in Syriac by the Participle preceded by ܕ or some other particle such as ܕܟ, or by a relative. The Participle, or participially used adjective (§ 244), is rarely allowed to stand alone, except after Imperatives (§ 272). Thus in Matt xi 18 (John the Baptist came *neither eating nor drinking*) *S* has ܠܐ ܐܟܠ ܘܠܐ ܫܬܐ. But this is altered in the other texts: *C* has ܠܐ ܐܟܠ ܘܠܐ ܫܬܐ ܕܗܘܐ and syr.vg has ܠܐ ܐܟܠ ܘܠܐ ܫܬܐ ܗܘܐ.

In the parallel passage, however, Lk vii 33, all three texts agree with that of *S* in S. Matthew.

A somewhat similar instance is Lk xviii 11, where *S* has 'That Pharisee *standeth* by himself *praying*...' (ܩܐܡ.....ܨܠܐ), but *C* and syr.vg have '*was standing.....and thus was praying*' (ܗܘܐ ܩܐܡ ܘܗܟܢܐ...ܗܘܐ ܨܠܐ). In this way the historic present and the independent participle of *S* are both made to disappear.

After Imperatives and some other expressions, such as ܗܘܐ ܕܪܓܠ 'he was accustomed,' we find the bare Participle used, as is noted in *Nöldeke* § 272. Thus Lk xii 13 'Speak to my brother *to divide* (μερίσασθαι) the inheritance with me' is rendered in syr.vg, as well as *S C*,

ܐܡܪ ܠܐܚܝ ܕܦܠܓ ܥܡܝ ܢܚܬܐ

lit. 'Speak to my brother *dividing* with me the inheritance.' It is this construction which I believe to be intended in Matt xv 26 *S*,

ܠܐ ܫܦܝܪ ܠܡܣܒ ܠܒܢܝ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܘܠܡܛܪܩ ܠܟܠܒܐ

It is not fitting [*for folk*] *to take the sons' bread to cast it to the dogs.*

[1] For the inconsistencies exhibited by the Peshitta text in the phrase 'answered and *said*,' see the Appendix at the end of this chapter.

Here instead of ܪܡܝܢ *râmên* we find in *C* and syr.vg ܘܠܡܫܕܝܗ 'and to cast it,' in accordance with καὶ βαλεῖν in the Greek. But the construction of *S* sounds to me idiomatic and original, although the antecedent to ܪܡܝܢ has to be wholly inferred from the context[1].

[*Nöldeke* § 286.] The Infinitive is used, as Dr Nöldeke says 'als eine Art Epexegese,' e.g. Matt ii 20 ܕܒܥܝܢ ܠܡܩܛܠܘ ܠܛܠܝܐ ܗܘ ܓܒܪܐ ܕܝܢ 'they were seeking the lad's life *to snatch away*,' where 'to snatch away' is omitted by *S*. Here ܠܡܩܛܠܘ 'to snatch it away' would have been possible, but with transitive verbs the addition of the suffix is not necessary. When however the verb requires after it a construction with a preposition the suffix is necessary after the pronoun, e.g. in Ps civ 26 לויתן זה יצרת לשחק בו where we in English can say 'Leviathan, that Thou hast formed to laugh *at*,' the Syriac like the Hebrew must say 'Leviathan, that Thou hast formed to laugh *at it*[2].'

This will explain the phrase ܡܢ ܕܠܐ ܠܐܟܠ in Joh xxi 5 *S*. Verbs of eating, such as ܐܟܠ and ܠܐ, usually govern an accusative; followed

[1] Dr Merx, in his always interesting notes on the text of *S* (*Die Vier Kanonischen Evangelien: .. Erläuterungen .. von Adalbert Merx*, i 248 ff), takes a widely different view. Deliberately disregarding the Greek, and even the text of *S* in the parallel passage Mk vii 27, he considers ܪܡܝܢ to refer to ܟܠܒܐ and makes ܕ a relative: the saying of Christ thus becomes '*Is it not fitting to take the bread that the sons cast to the dogs?*' i.e. 'is it not fitting that I, cast out as I am by the Jews, should help the Gentiles?' To this question the woman replies by an eager affirmative. According to Dr Merx, the ordinary text of S. Matthew and also the parallel passage in S. Mark have been corrupted by a Judaistic re-editing (*Verjüdelung*), which *S* alone has escaped.

It is undoubtedly much easier to construe *S* in the way advocated by Dr Merx, but I cannot believe that his translation gives the sense intended by the scribe. When I find τὸν ἄρτον τῶν τέκνων in the Greek and ܠܚܡܐ ܕܒܢܝ ܟܠܒܐ in the Syriac translation, I cannot but believe that ܕ denotes the genitive and that the phrase means 'the bread of the sons.' Moreover Aphraates 149, in an allusion which I omitted to quote in vol i, pp. 88, 89, as being too paraphrastical for textual purposes, says that those who assiduously beg for mercy are the dogs that *receive the sons' bread and they cast to them* (ܕܡܩܒܠܝܢ ܠܚܡܐ ܕܒܢܝ ܟܠܒܐ ܕܡܫܕܝܢ ܠܗܘ). Dr Merx wishes to emend this also and to cut out the ܐ before ܪܡܝܢ, but as it stands it attests the expression *the sons' bread*, and a very little imagination is needed to believe that the phrase in Aphraates is a somewhat mechanical reminiscence of the text of *S*, understood as I have understood it and not as Dr Merx has done.

If it be necessary to choose an antecedent to ܪܡܝܢ in *S*, I should be inclined mentally to supply ܠ after ܟܠܒ. Similarly in Mk vii 27 the Palestinian Lectionary has *It is not good that* WE *should take the sons' bread and (that)* WE *should cast it to the dogs.* But no word is really required, seeing that in Joh xviii 8 *S* renders ἄφετε τούτους ὑπάγειν by ܫܒܘܩ ܠܗܠܝܢ ܕܢܐܙܠܘܢ.

[2] ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܒܗ ܕܢܫܕ ܠܗ ܠܛܠܝܐ.

by ܡܢ they signify 'to eat *part* of a thing.' But 'to eat *of* a joint' is ܡܢ ܟܪܥ. The expression is fairly common in Hebrew, e.g. Judg xiii 16, but it also occurs in Syriac, e.g. Job xxi 25 in imitation of the Hebrew. Hence ܡܢ ܠܡܐܟܠ ܕܥܡܟ ܠܟ ܡܕܡ ܐܝܬ means 'Have ye anything to eat of?' The choice of the preposition to be used was no doubt due to the fact that the Greek is *μή τι προσφάγιον ἔχετε*;

The confused construction of Lk iii 8 *C*, is not supported by *S*, which has ܐܝܬ ܠܢ ܐܒܐ ܕܒܪܗܡ ܠܟܘܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܝ where *C* has ܐܒܗܢ for ܠܢ. The text of *C* (noticed in *Nöldeke* § 286) appears to be nothing more than an unskilful mixture of the phraseology of Matt iii 9 with that of *S* in S. Luke.

A good example of the Infinitive used without a finite verb to express 'must' is Joh ix 30, where *S* has ܡܢ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܠܡܬܬܡܗ ܗܕܐ ܡܐܡܪ 'this is something to wonder at!' The Peshitta inserts ܐܡ after ܗܕܐ ܡܐܡܪ and omits ܡܢ.

[*Nöldeke* § 290.] A noteworthy example of a double accusative is to be found in ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܒܢܦܫܟ ܬܥܒܪ ܪܘܡܦܝܐ Lk ii 35 *S*, corresponding to *καὶ σοῦ [δὲ] αὐτῆς τὴν ψυχὴν διελεύσεται ῥομφαία.* The text is supported by a fragment of the original Syriac of S. Ephraim's Commentary on the Diatessaron preserved by Isho'dâd, who has ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܒܢܦܫܟ ܬܥܒܪ ܪܘܡܦܝܐ. The meaning is apparently '*And through thine own self thou shalt cause a spear to pass*,' but no other authority has the verb in the 2nd person. For the use of ܥܒܪ with an accusative instead of with ܒ see Lk xix 1, where we find ܐܝܬܝ ܥܒܪ ܐ in *S*, instead of ܐܝܬܝ ܒ ܥܒܪ ܐ.

[*Nöldeke* § 295.] The Infinitive absolute is much more commonly used in the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* than in the Peshitta. ܡܫܬܥ ܡܫܬܥ Joh x 20 (*Gr. μαίνεται*) appears to be the only instance in the Peshitta Gospels where the idiom is not actually indicated in the Greek. In one instance, ܡܢ ܐܬܬܡܗ Lk viii 50, where it occurs in *C* but not in *S* or the Peshitta, the reading of *C* is supported by Aphraates, by the Commentary of S. Ephraim, and by the *Acts of Thomas*. It is possible, however, that this last quotation may be based on Mk v 36, a passage for which *S* is unfortunately not extant.

[*Nöldeke* § 304.] In Lk xviii 3 *S* has ܩܕܡ ܒܪ ܐܪܡܠܬܐ ܗܕܝܢ, where *C* and the Peshitta have ܒܥܡ ܒܪ[1].

[*Nöldeke* § 328 B.] Both *S* and *C* are among the 'ancient documents' that invariably use ܩܕܡ ܠ and not ܕܠ. The Peshitta on the other hand contains ܕܠ several times, e.g. Joh vii 25.

[§ 328 F.] Besides the use of ܠܠ for 'without,' and also as a conjunction meaning 'lest' (almost like ܕܠܡܐ), it is found several times in the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* in the sense of 'else' or 'otherwise': in such cases it is always followed by a noun, so as to distinguish it from ܠܠ meaning 'lest.' This usage is obscured in the Peshitta and does not seem to be recognised in the Syriac Grammars, so I here set down the instances I have observed[2]. Matt vi 1 *S C*: 'Do not your righteousness before men, *else ye have no reward with your Father*' (ܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܠ ܐܝܬ ܠܟܘܢ ܐܓܪܐ ܥܡ ܐܒܘܟܘܢ); Matt vi 24 *C* (hiat *S*), Lk xvi 13 *S* (hiat *C*): 'No man can serve two lords, *else the one he will hate and the other he will love*' (ܠܐ ܡܫܬܥܒܕ ܠܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܕܠ ܒܚܕ ܢܣܢܐ ܘܒܚܕ ܢܪܚܡ); Matt ix 16, 17, Mk ii 21, 22 *S* (hiat *C*): 'No man putteth a new patch on a worn-out garment, *else the fulness of the new pulleth away* the weakness of the worn-out part.....neither new wine into worn-out wine-skins, *else the wine teareth the wine-skins*' (ܠܐ ܡܫܕܐ ܐܢܫ ܟܣܐ ܚܕܬܐ ܥܠ ܒܠܝܐ ܕܠ.....ܘܠܐ ܡܫܕܝܢ ܚܡܪܐ ܚܕܬܐ ܒܣܝܒ ܕܠ). In Matt vi 24 and Lk xvi 13 the corresponding Greek is ἢ γάρ, in the other instances it is εἰ δὲ μή or εἰ δὲ μήγε.

The Peshitta has ܠܠܡ instead of ܠܠ in Matt vi 1, and ܐܝܬ ܠ ܐܢ in Matt vi 24 and Lk xvi 13. In Matt ix 16, 17, and Mk ii 21, 22, it has ܠܠ but except in Mk ii 22 the construction is changed. In the other passages the verb comes immediately after ܠܠ, and in Matt ix 16 this is actually put in the future (...ܕܠ ܢܫܬܠܡ ܠܒܫܐ 'that the fulness of it *may not* pull,' etc.). We may remark in passing that the unusual divergence of the Peshitta from the Greek in this verse receives a natural explanation when viewed as a stylistic correction of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. The Greek here has αἴρει γὰρ τὸ πλήρωμα κ.τ.λ., not εἰ δὲ μὴ, αἴρει τὸ πλήρωμα as in S. Mark. The *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* rendered both passages

[1] Here ܩܕܡ ܒܪ is read by Mr Gwilliam's cod. 40, and by his 14 36 in Lk vii 37.

[2] Other instances of ܠܠ, meaning 'else,' are to be found in ASD 47^{1}, 68^{17}, 69^{16}; Aphraates 185^{20}. (R.H.K.)

alike, as its custom often is, employing in each passage the idiomatic use of ܐܚܪ now under consideration. The Peshitta alters the idiom in Matt ix 16, but in so doing departs much further from the Greek. It is of course quite likely that in this particular phrase the official Peshitta text is simply reproducing a previous stylistic correction: we are even at liberty to conjecture that *C*, which is here missing, itself read ܕܠܐ ܐܚܪ[1].

[*Nöldeke* § 338 c.] In more than a dozen passages the Peshitta begins a paragraph with ܗܘܐ ܟܕ 'And it came to pass that when...,' corresponding to καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε in Matt, and καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς or ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ in Lk. The formula occurs in *S* in Matt xi 1 and xix 1, and perhaps also in Matt xxvi 1, but elsewhere it is avoided in the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. Usually the ἐγένετο is left untranslated, as in Matt xiii 53 and Lk x 38: in other places we find ܗܘ ܟܕ 'And it came to pass when...,' e.g. Matt xi 1 *C*, xix 1 *C*, Lk i 41 *S*, ix 51 *C*. In the last passage *S* has ܗܘ without ܟܕ. It is possible that the original translation had regarded ܗܘܐ ܟܕ as an exact equivalent of καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε and ܗܘ ܟܕ as an exact equivalent of καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς. But as above remarked the ἐγένετο is usually dropped in the Syriac rendering.

The idiom specially mentioned in § 338 c (*viz.* 'And it came to pass...*and*') occurs in Lk ix 28 *S C*, but in the Peshitta the intrusive *and* has been corrected out.

Here may conveniently be noticed the very curious *anacoluthon* introduced by the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* and the Peshitta into their rendering of S. Matthew's phrase 'Now all this is come to pass that it might be fulfilled,' etc. (τοῦτο δὲ [ὅλον] γέγονεν ἵνα κ.τ.λ.). The phrase occurs in Matt i 22, xxi 4, xxvi 56, and in the Greek the construction is perfectly straightforward. But the Syriac has ܕܟܠ ܗ ܕܗܘܬ ܗ, just as if the translation had read ὃ instead of ὅλον. That it is a native idiom and not a translator's mistake is shewn by the retention of the phrase in the Peshitta: even in Matt xxvi 56, where *S* has in the plural ܗ ,ܕܗܘ ܕܡܠܐ ܕܟܠ, the Peshitta has ܗ ܕܗܘ ܕܟܠ. In Matt xxi 4 a few ancient Peshitta codices

[1] ܐܚܪ meaning 'else' also occurs in Lk x 6, where *S* reads ܐܠ ܡܢ ܕܠܟ ܠܐ ܐܠ (*sic*, see the List of Errata), i.e. *If (it be) otherwise, upon you it will return.*

(Mr Gwilliam's 15 17 19 20 36) remove this *anacoluthon* by omitting the ܕ before ܗܘܐ[1]. This construction is also noticed in *Nöldeke* § 358 B.

[*Nöldeke* § 339.] In the ordinary Edessene Syriac, as known to us in writings dating from the 4th century onward, the conjunction 'and' is not used to introduce the apodosis. But in *S* and *C* there are several instances of this thoroughly Semitic idiom. The passages may be conveniently arranged under the two heads of *Temporal Sentences*, containing ܟܕ in the protasis, and *Conditional Sentences*, containing ܐܢ or ܠܘ in the protasis.

(A) Temporal Sentences.

Matt iii 16 *βαπτισθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εὐθὺς ἀνέβη ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ ἰδοὺ...*

ܟܕ ܥܡܕ ܝܫܘܥ ܐܬܡܥܡܕ ܡܢ ܡܝܐ ܘܗܐ ܫܡܝܐ ܐܬܦܬܚܘ ܠܗ syr.vg

Now when Jesus was baptized, immediately He came up from the water and the heavens were opened to Him.

but

ܟܕ ܥܡܕ ܝܫܘܥ ܐܬܡܥܡܕ ܡܢ ܡܝܐ ܘܗܐ ܫܡܝܐ ܐܬܦܬܚܘ ܠܗ *C*

And when He was baptized, in the same hour that He came up from the water, [and] lo, the heavens were opened.

ܟܕ ܥܡܕ ܝܫܘܥ ܐܬܡܥܡܕ ܘܣܠܩ ܡܢ ܡܝܐ ܘܗܐ ܫܡܝܐ ܐܬܦܬܚܘ ܠܗ *S*

And when He was baptized and came up from the water, [and] lo, the heavens were opened.

The [*and*] which I have put in square brackets simply serves to introduce the apodosis. Notwithstanding important differences, *S* and *C* agree in the general cast of the sentence against the Greek and against the Peshitta, which follows the Greek.

Lk xiii 10 ff. The Greek text tells the story of the woman with the spirit of infirmity in the following manner: "[10]*Now* He was teaching... [11]*and lo*, a woman having a spirit.... [12]*Now* Jesus... (spoke) [13]*and* laid His hands on her.... [14]*Now* the ruler of the synagogue answered and...(complained). [15]*But* (δὲ) the Lord answered him and said 'Hypocrite!'"

[1] A similar *anacoluthon* may be intended by the insertion of ܕ before ܐܡܪ in Lk xxii 37 *S*, but I incline to think the ܕ a mere scribe's blunder. A similar construction after ܕ ܚܠܡ is found in *Addai* 23[4], 44[3], as my friend Canon Kennett points out.

S and *C* without substantial variation have: "[10]*And when* He was teaching... [11]*and* there was there a woman that had a spirit... [12]*and* Jesus...(spoke) [13]and laid His hands on her.... [14]*And* the ruler of the synagogue answered and...(complained). [15]Jesus answered and said to him: 'Respecter of persons!'"

It is surely unreasonable to take all the clauses in *vv.* 10—14 inclusive as introductory to the reply of our Lord in *v.* 15. Is it not more natural to regard *v.* 11 as the apodosis to *v.* 10? When Jesus was teaching in a synagogue one Sabbath, a certain woman (we are told) was present.

The Peshitta retains the '*when*' of *S C* in *v.* 10, but omits the introductory '*and*' in *v.* 11, so that it reads "[10]*Now when* Jesus was teaching... [11]there was there a woman, etc."; a new sentence begins at *v.* 12 with "*Now* Jesus saw her." Evidently therefore the ܐ in the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* at the beginning of *v.* 11 was taken as the introduction to the apodosis, and is accordingly omitted in the Peshitta in agreement with the later theory of Syriac syntax.

Joh iv 1—3. This is another case where the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* had ܕܟ in the protasis and ܐ in the apodosis, and where the Peshitta in getting rid of this antiquated construction departed still more widely from the Greek. The Greek has ὡς οὖν ἔγνω in *v.* 1, followed by a rather long parenthesis, but *v.* 3 takes up the principal narrative, beginning ἀφῆκεν τὴν Ἰουδαίαν. This is properly and idiomatically rendered in *S* by ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܒܛ followed in *v.* 3 by ܗܘܬ ܠܡܫܒܩ ܡܛܝܐ. *C* is here mutilated, but from the space it is evident that *v.* 1 began with ܟܕ as in *S*, and *v.* 3 with ܡܛܝ or ܡܛܝܐ. The Peshitta has ܡܛܝܐ like *S*, but it omits ܟܕ at the beginning of *v.* 1. The fact that the Peshitta has the ܐ at the beginning of *v.* 3 is a clear indication that its insertion is no mere peculiarity of *S* but a characteristic reading of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe.*

Other instances of ܟܕ followed by ܐ are Matt ix 18 *S*, Matt xii 9 *C*, (not *S*), xviii 8, 9 *S* (ܢܫܕܗ *sic* $^2/_2$: not *C*); Mk x 46 *S*, xi 15 *S* (ܐܬܐ, *cf* syr.vg); Lk xix 1, 2 *S* (not *C*), xix 36 *S* (not *C*).

Somewhat similar is Joh xvi 6. Here *S* has

ܡܠܐ ܕܐܬܟܪ ܠܟܘܢ ܡܛܠ ܕܟܝ ܐܡܪܬ ܠܟܘܢ ܠܗܠܝܢ ܚܕܐ ܠܒܟܘܢ ܡܠܝ

For because I have said to you these things [*and*] *sorrow hath come and filled your hearts.*

Here again it is obvious that we must omit the [*and*] in translating into English. The Peshitta also has ܘܗܘܐ, but it omits ܘ ܫܠܡ, although the Greek is ἀλλ' ὅτι ταῦτα λελάληκα ὑμῖν, ἡ λύπη πεπλήρωκεν ὑμῶν τὴν καρδίαν.

(B) Conditional Sentences.

Lk xii 45, 46. ἐὰν δὲ εἴπῃ ὁ δοῦλος ἐκεῖνος ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ...καὶ ἄρξηται τύπτειν τοὺς παῖδας κ.τ.λ., [46]ἥξει ὁ κύριος τοῦ δούλου ἐκείνου...

Here *S* and *C* have

ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܗܘ ܥܒܕܐ ܒܠܒܗ.....ܘܫܪܝ ܠܡܟܐ ܥܒܕܐ ...
ܘܐܬܐ ܡܪܐ ܕܗܘ ܥܒܕܐ[46] ...

Now if that slave shall say in his heart...and shall begin to beat the slaves... [46] [*and*] *the lord of that slave will come....*

The apodosis is thus clearly introduced by ܐ, which we have to leave untranslated, or render by 'then.' The Peshitta agrees in the rendering of these verses with *S C*, but it omits the characteristic ܐ before ܐܡܪ at the beginning of *v.* 46, in accordance with the accepted syntactical theory.

The evidence of Lk xii 45, 46, is especially cogent, because *S* and *C* agree in inserting the ܐ and there is no variation in the Greek. In other instances we have only the evidence of single MSS.

Matt xviii 12 *S*

ܐܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܓܒܪܐ ܡܐܐ ܥܐܐ ܒܪܫܗ ܘܚܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܫܓܐ ܠܗ ܐܦ ܠܐ
ܫܒܩ ܬܫܥܝܢ ܘܬܫܥܐ

If a man shall have a flock of one hundred and one of them be strayed, doth he not leave the ninety and nine...? (lit. '*and doth he not leave...?*')

Here *C* and the Peshitta have another word for sheep, and they also omit the ܐ before ܠܐ.

Matt xx 28 *fin. C*

ܐܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܡܢ ܡܟܣܐ ܙܥܘܪܐ ܘܐܬܐ ܚܕ ܕܠܝܬ ܠܟ ܝܬܪ ܡܢܝ.
ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܡܪܝ ܡܫܬܐ ܥܠ ܡܟܣܐ ܙܥܘܪܐ ܘܣܘܩ ܠܟ ܠܥܠܝܐ.
ܘܬܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܩܕܡ ܟܠ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܐܬܘ ܥܡ ܡܫܬܐ.

But if thou sit down to meat in a lesser place, and there come one less than thou, and the lord of the supper say to thee 'Bring thyself and come up and sit down to meat,' then thou shalt have more glory in the eyes of the guests.

This sentence occurs in the well-known interpolation attested by Codex Bezae and the Old Latin version, but not by current Greek texts or the Peshitta. *S* is here deficient, owing to the accidental loss of a leaf, but it is evident from the space required that it could never have contained this long insertion. I have made the apodosis in the above translation come at the last clause: it might equally well be put at ܐܡܪ ܠܗ or ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ, and D and the Latins actually set it at ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ, reading ἐρεῖ and not καὶ ἐρεῖ. But in any case the clause which contains the apodosis begins with 'and.' As the evidence of *S* shews us that the interpolation does not belong to the earliest form of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, it is all the more interesting, from the point of view of the history of the language, to find in it an instance of the idiom now under discussion.

Matt xxi 21 *S*

ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ ܠܟܘܢ ܕܐܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܟܘܢ ܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܬܬܪܝܒܘܢ ܠܡ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܕܬܬܥܒܕ ܠܗܢܐ ܛܘܪܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܬܗܘܐ ܐܦ ܕܐܡܪܝܢ ܐܢܬ ܬܬܢܣܐ ܘܬܬܪܡܐ ܠܝܡܐ ܬܗܘܐ ܐܦ ܗܟܢܐ ܬܗܘܐ.

If ye shall say to this hill 'Be taken up and fall into the sea,' then it shall be so.

Here *C* has ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܡܪ without ܕ. The Peshitta has ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܠܛܘܪܐ ܗܢܐ ܕܬܬܢܣܐ ܘܬܬܪܡܐ ܠܝܡܐ ...., but curiously enough three of Mr Gwilliam's MSS (15 20* 36) read ܐܡܪܝܢ ܠܗ.

Lk xi 8 *S*

ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܐܦ ܕܠܐ ܢܬܠ ܠܗ ܡܛܠ ܕܝܕܘܬܐ ܕܝܠܗ ⸢ܐܠܐ⸣ ܡܛܠ ܕܠܐ ܢܟܣ ܘܢܬܠ ܠܗ ܟܡܐ ܕܒܥܐ.

Though because of friendship he will not give to him, ⸢yet⸣ because of importunity he will rise and give to him.

The ܕ before the second ܐܠܐ is not in *C* and the Peshitta, and it is not visible in the photograph of *S*, though there is room for it and the rest of the passage is quite clear. I have not seen the passage myself at Sinai, but I should not wonder if a careful examination shewed not only the ܕ read by Dr Harris in 1893, but also signs that the letter had been intentionally washed out before the whole MS was broken up and converted into a palimpsest. In such cases the washed out letters are sometimes illegible in the photograph: a good instance of this is to be found in Lk xii 31, where I have little doubt that the first hand of *S** had ܢܒܥܘ, not ܒܥܘ.

The illegibility of the ܐ in Lk xi 8 is all the more to be regretted, as the sentence is of a somewhat different type to those we have been examining. The ܐܢ has a concessive force, i.e. 'though' or 'even if,' and in the apodosis the first word is not a verb, but a noun preceded by a preposition.

Lk xviii 4, 5 *S*

ܐܢ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܐ ܕܚܠ ܐܢܐ ܘܠܐܢܫܐ ܠܐ ܗܘܝܬ ܕܚܠ ܐܢܐ ܗܠܝ ܐܪܡܠܬܐ ܗܕܐ ܕܡܛܪܚܐ ܠܝ ܐܬܒܥ ܠܗ ܕܠܐ ܒܣܘܦ ܐܬܐ ܘܡܛܪܚܢܝ[5]

Though of God I am not afraid and for man I have no reverence, [5] *yet this widow who thus fatigueth me I will requite.*

C has ܕܚܠܡ instead of ܕܡܛܪܚܐ; the relative thus being dropped, ܐܬܒܥ now begins a third conjunctive clause of the protasis, and the apodosis consists of the single word ܐܬܒܥܗ 'I will requite her.' For ܠ....ܐܬܒ[ܥ] the Peshitta has

ܥܠ ܟܠ ܕܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܒܥ ܐܬܒܥܗ

so that the sentence runs '*Though of God I am not afraid and of men I have no reverence, even though it is because this widow fatigueth me, I will requite her.*' This contains an admirable rendering of διά γε τὸ παρέχειν μοι κόπον τὴν χήραν ταύτην, but it will be noticed that in this rendering also the ܐ before the apodosis has disappeared.

Lk ix 58 *S*

ܐܢ ܠܥܘܪܒܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗܘܢ ܚܘܪ ܘܠܛܝܪܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗܘܢ ܩܢ ܘܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ ܠܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܢܣܡܟ ܪܝܫܗ

Though the foxes have dens and the birds of the heaven have nests, yet the Son of Man hath not where He may rest His head.

In agreement with the Greek, *C* and the Peshitta omit ܐܢ and read ܠܥܘܪܒܐ ܕܡ instead of ܘܠܥܘܪܒܐ, besides one or two minor variations.

The word ܐܝ 'yea' is written ܐܢ in Lk xii 5 *S*, but there can be little doubt that ܐܢ here stands in *S* for 'if' or 'though[1].' An 'if' is more than once inserted in *S* where the construction seemed to require it, e.g. Matt xiii 28, Mk xii 37. But the half dozen instances which I have given of conditional sentences, in which the apodosis

[1] So also Dr Merx in his translation, p. 133.

is introduced by ܐ, will I trust sufficiently prove that the idiom was really used in the earlier stages of Syriac literature.

Now and then the apodosis of conditional sentences, especially such as contain *ἄν* in the Greek, are introduced by ܗܝ. The classical instance is Gen xliii 10 syr.vg

ܐܠܘ ܠܐ ܐܬܝܢ ܗܝ ܟܕ ܗܫܟܢ.

Had we not delayed, perchance we should have already returned.

ܟܕ ܗܝ here corresponds to כי עתה.

The same construction occurs in Matt xi 21, Lk x 13, in *S C* and the Peshitta; 'if the mighty works had been done in Tyre and Sidon *perchance* they would have *already* repented.' ܟܕ implies a slight doubt: the speaker is morally certain, but it remains a hypothesis[1]. When ܟܕ is absent, ܗܝ can equally well introduce the conclusion without any expression of doubt. Thus in Lk xix 23 *S C*, and apparently also in Matt xxv 27, the lord asks the lazy slave 'Why didst thou not give my money to the bankers?'—equivalent to a conditional sentence —'and I then (ܗܝ ܐܬܐ) had come and required mine own.' The Peshitta both in Matt and Lk omits ܗܝ, as we might have expected.

But the clearest example is Matt xvii 20 *S*, where we read

ܐܬܐ ܐܝܟܐ ܗܝ ܠܟܘܢ ܒܟ ܐܝܬ.... ܐܡܪܬܘܢ ܠܗܢܐ ܛܘܪܐ ܗܐ ܐܬܥܩܪ ܘܐܬܥܩܪ.

If there had been in you faith...ye would have said to this hill 'Be removed,' and it would remove.

Here *C* and the Peshitta read ܐܡܪܬ[ܘ ܐܡ] ܠ at the beginning and substitute ܐܝܬܝܬ for ܗܝ ܐܝܬ.

[*Nöldeke* § 349 B.] The Greek construction of syr.vg and *C* in Lk ix 4 (ܐܡܪ ܠܗ [ܠ] ܐܝܟ ܕܬܥܠ ܘܬܬ ܐܬܐ) is found also in *S*, and the same phrase recurs in Matt x 11, Mk vi 10, Lk x 5, 8, 10. But such a construction would hardly be possible in *S* and *C* with any preposition but ܠ, which in Syriac is so intimately connected with the mere sign of the accusative after a transitive verb. When another preposition is used in sentences of this kind the Syriac begins with a 'nominative absolute,' e.g. Lk xx 18 *ἐφ' ὃν ἂν πέσῃ λικμήσει αὐτόν* is rendered in *S C* ,ܡܢ ܕܢܦܠ ܥܠܘܗܝ ,ܡܢ ܕܢܦܠ ܥܠ ܗܘ ܗܝ ܕܟ ܠ, and

[1] ܟܕ ܗܝ would have expressed the purely temporal sense of 'already.'

similarly in syr.vg with the substitution of ,ܡܕܝܢܬܐ for the last word. Only in the Harclean do we find ,ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܐܦ ܠܐ.

In view of the concession to Greek idiom made by the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* in Matt x 11, it is a remarkable circumstance that in D and that excellent minuscule cod. 28 the clause runs ἡ πόλις εἰς ἣν ἂν εἰσέλθητε εἰς αὐτήν, κ.τ.λ. Why do Western authorities thus syriacize at a point where Syriac texts graecize?

And in Mk vi 10, where the Greek is ὅπου ἐὰν εἰσέλθητε εἰς οἰκίαν, a phrase which reads like a translation from a Semitic original, why are *S* and syr.vg assimilated to the phraseology of the other Gospels?

It is easier to ask these questions than to suggest a satisfactory solution.

[*Nöldeke* § 355.] In my translation I have uniformly left the relative in short adjectival or adverbial phrases untranslated, wherever the verbal construction is left unexpressed. Thus ܕܒܫܡܝܐ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ really means 'the things that are in heaven,' but ܕܒܫܡܝܐ ܐܒܐ is better rendered into English by 'our Father in heaven,' than by the full verbal statement 'our Father, who art (*or*, who is) in heaven[1].' The mere fact that the relative in Syriac is a light unaccented half-syllable has doubtless helped the tendency of the language to insert it where the sense would be over-expressed by the English relative.

[*Nöldeke* § 358 B.] See above, on § 338 C.

[*Nöldeke* § 373.] In three passages ܕܠܡܐ seems to stand elliptically at the beginning of a sentence. The use of ܕܠܡܐ for ܠܐ in prohibitions is not found in the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe,* unless we regard Joh v 45 *C* as an exception, so it is improbable that the ܐ in ܕܠܡܐ stands for 'inverted commas,' like ὅτι *recitativum.* The instances are

(i) Matt viii 4 (Jesus saith to him Ὅρα μηδενὶ εἴπῃς)

S C ...ܕܠܡܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܐ ܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ.

where the Peshitta has ܐܝ ,ܠܐ ܐܡܪ instead of ܕܠܡܐ, i.e. 'See, do not say to any one.' Thus in *S C* ܕܠܡܐ corresponds to ὅρα and the negative contained in μηδενί.

[1] Of course ܕܒܫܡܝܐ ܐܒܐ could not be used in Syriac for 'our heavenly Father' (*cf* Matt xviii 10 'their-angels in-heaven-behold my-Father-in-heaven').

(ii) Matt xvii 9 (Jesus commanded them, saying Μηδενὶ εἴπητε τὸ ὅραμα)

ܡܬܚܙܐ ܠܐ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܠܐ ܐܡܪܘ ܠܐܢܫ ܡܕܡ ܕܚܙܘ ܥܕ ܕ C

ܕܐܬܐ ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ.

S is missing at this point. The Peshitta for ܕܐܬܐ...ܕܠܡܐ has

ܠܐ ܐܡܪܘ ܠܐܢܫ ܡܕܡ ܕܚܙܘ ܥܕ ܕܐܬܐ ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ.

Here again ܕܠܡܐ stands in *C* for '*Beware* lest.'

(iii) Matt xxv 9 (The wise virgins reply Μήποτε οὐκ ἀρκέσῃ ἡμῖν καὶ ὑμῖν)

ܠܐ ܢܣܦܩ ܠܢ ܘܠܟܘܢ ܕܠܡܐ ܐܠܐ ..... ܕܐܬܐ S

Here ܕܠܡܐ practically stands for ܕܠܡܐ ܠܐ, i.e. 'Nay, lest....,' but the omission of the direct negative at the beginning of the sentence both in Greek and in Syriac gives a more courteous turn to the refusal. The Peshitta substitutes ܕܠܐ. Curiously enough, in Matt xiii 29, where the Greek has οὔ, μήποτε... and *S C* have ܠܐ ܕܠܡܐ, the Peshitta has ܕܠܡܐ alone, like *S* in Matt xxv 9.

It is noteworthy with what persistence the Peshitta avoids ܕܠܡܐ ,ܡ and ܕܠܡܐ ܐܡ. This is the case in Matt ix 30, xviii 10, xxiv 5, Mk i 44, Lk xxi 8, in all of which places the phrase is used by the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. The only exception I have noted is Mk xiii 5 ܕܐܬܐ ܒܫܡܝ ܐܡ ܕܠܡܐ ܐܡ, where *S* has ܕܠܐ.

[*Nöldeke* § 374 B.] ܕ ܐܡ ... ܕ is generally avoided in *S*. Out of 15 places where the phrase occurs in one or other Syriac text, *S* has it only in Mk viii 3, 36. It occurs seven times in *C*, and its infrequency in *S* appears to be the result of stylistic correction. At least this is what is suggested by the occurrence of ܕ ... ܕ Matt x 13 *S*, ܐܡ ... ܕ (without ܕ) Matt xii 10 *S*, and the reading ܕܐܡ ܠܒܕܩ ܐܡ Matt xxvii 43 *S*. In the last mentioned verse the ordinary text has πέποιθεν alone, but εἰ πέποιθεν is read by D, 1–118–209, the Old Latin, the Egyptian versions, the Armenian and the Ethiopic: I venture to think it probable that the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* once read in agreement with these authorities

ܕܐܡ ܠܒܕܩ ܐܡ ... ܕ

and that ܐܡ in *S* is a relic of this reading.

An expression similar in construction to ܐ ܠܐ ܐ ܐ is to be found in Matt xiii 10, where *S* has ܐ ܠܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ while *C* and syr.vg have ܐ.

[§ 374, *Note at end.*] The use of ܐ to expres ἄν, common in later Syriac translations from the Greek, is naturally absent from the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe.* But *S* preserves two instances of the use of ܐ in alternatives (*Nöldeke* § 372 B), corresponding to أَمْ in Arabic[1]. Thus Mk xiii 35 *S*

ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ,ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ

is lost in the Peshitta. ܠܘ is practically our 'if only':—'if only,' says Christ to the apostles, 'ye had the grain of faith which ye have not, ye would have said....'

[§ 375 B.] Just like our 'if only,' the sense of ܠܘ passes into that of a wish, and Lk xii 49 *C* is worth quoting here as a parallel to the passage of the Julian Romance quoted by Dr Nöldeke. In *Julian* 23[22] the Jews say .ܚܝܐ ܕܐ ܡܢ ܠܘ ܐܝܟ ܕܟܘܟܒܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܝ ܠܢ i.e. 'And how much ye would have been pleased if only our star had set!' This is in form exactly like ܚܝܐ ܕܐ ܡܢ ܠܘ ܗܫ ܗܫ ܐܝܟ ܕܢܘܪܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܝ, i.e. 'And how I should be pleased if only the fire had been already kindled!' For the first clause *S* has ܗܫ ܐܝܟ ܗܫ, perhaps a slip for ܗܫ ܐܝܟ ܗܫ, but the construction of ܠܘ is the same as in *C*. The Peshitta agrees with *C* but omits ܗܫ.

Vocabulary.

The Vocabulary of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* is characterised by a straightforward simplicity, which is to some extent preserved in the Peshitta. There are certain standing locutions which are used constantly to the exclusion of others that might be thought equally good Syriac. Of these the most remarkable is the use of ܚܝܐ 'life' for σωτήριον and σωτηρία as well as for ζωή. This extends to the verbal forms: ܚܝܐ is used for 'to save.' *Salvation* and *Life* were thus identical terms in Syriac theological language, a different word (ܦܘܪܩܢܐ) being reserved for 'deliverance.'

Similarly 'to come (or go) after' stands both for ἀκολουθεῖν and for ἔρχεσθαι ὀπίσω, and among nouns 'field' is ܚܩܠܐ and 'boat' is ܐܣܝܘܢܐ. To each of the last there is one exception: ܚܩܠ is used for 'field' in Lk xvii 7 *S*, and ܐܠܦ ('ship') is used for 'boat' in Matt xiv 22 *C*, a verse where *S* is illegible.

Notable Greek words are:—

ܒܣܛܘܠܐ occurs in Mk xii 38 *S*, Lk xx 46 *S C*, where the Greek has ἐν στολαῖς. The *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* apparently understood that the Scribes wished to walk ἐν Στοαῖς like the Philosophers: *cf* Joh x 23. ܣܛܘܠܐ for στολή occurs in Mk xvi 5 *S*, Lk xv 22 *S C*.

ܦܪܝܣ is used for ἡ παράλιος Lk vi 17 *S*. The Peshitta has ܥܡܩܐ ܕܝܡܐ.

ܛܘܪ occurs in Lk iv 29 *S* as the name of the hill, from which the people of Nazareth wished to throw Christ down. The Greek is ἕως ὀφρύος τοῦ ὄρους, rendered ܥܕ ܛܘܪ ܕܐܘܪܒܐ by *S*. Wellhausen (*Nachrichten der K. Ges. der Wiss. zu Göttingen*, 1895, p. 4) suggests that ܛܘܪ is a transliteration of [ὀ]φρύος: possibly the word was understood as an equivalent of Φᾶρος, spelt elsewhere in Syriac ܦܘܪܣ and ܦܐܪܣ.

ܦܨܚ is used for πάσχα Mk xiv 1 *S*, Lk ii 41 *S C*, and also in Joh vi 4 *C*. See on ܥܝܠܦ below, and the Note on Joh vi 4.

ܩܪܛܝܢ is used for κεράτια Lk xv 16 *S*: see below.

ܬܪܨܝ is used for θαρσεῖτε Matt xiv 27 *S*, Mk vi 50 *S*. In the other passages where θάρσει occurs *S* has ܫܠܡ ܠܟ. *C* is only extant for Matt xiv 27, where it has ܐܬܪܡܝ; syr.vg uses ܐܬܠܚܡ everywhere.

The following words are noteworthy, as being adaptations from the Greek which are used to render other words than those of which they are adaptations.

ܬܟ (from τάχα): ܬܟ ܐ, used for εἰ ἄρα Mk xi 13 *S*.

ܟܕܪ (from λεκάνη): ܟܕܝܫܐ ܟܕܪ 'a dish for washing,' used for νιπτήρ Joh xiii 5 *S*, supported by Aphraates 226 and Ephr. *Lamy* i 657. The Peshitta has ܟܕܝܫܐ.

ܟܛܦ (from πιττάκιον): used for ἐπιγραφή Lk xxiii 38 *S C*, and also by Ephr. *Lamy* i 667. The Peshitta has ܟܬܒܐ.

ܟܣܛܝܦܐ Lk xxiii 19 *C* is quite obscure. It is obviously connected with ܣܣܝܐ *ver.* 25 *C*. In both places *S* has ܟܣܝܐ, and the Peshitta has ܣܣܦܐ, corresponding to στάσις in the Greek. The reading of *S* is obviously a correction for some misunderstood or miswritten word. Similarly we find ܟܣܝܐ in Mk xv 7, where syr.vg has ܣܣܦܐ.

It is highly probable that the original word was some adaptation of στάσις, and I venture to conjecture that ܒܪ ܣܝܐ Mk xv 7[a] *S* is a substitute for ܣܝܣܦܐ (i.e. στασιάριος, Bar Hebr. *Chr. Eccl.* ii 725[3], *Nöld.* § 140), and that ܟܣܝܐ in Mk xv 7[b] *S*, Lk xxiii 19,

25 *S*, stands for ܣܛܣܝܐ (i.e. *sedition*, the crime of a στασιάριος), a word that actually occurs elsewhere in Syriac (Guidi, *Statuti.. di Nisibi* GSAI iv 183[3]). It is easy to see how ܣܛܣܝܐ could be corrupted into the ܣܛܝܐ found in *C*, while ܥܥܝܡ appears to come from a further confusion of this word with ܥܥܐ, i.e. ܥܥܐܣ[1].

More frequent than transliteration is the use of genuine Semitic phraseology to render technical terms. The list that follows is arranged in alphabetical order.

ܣܝܡ ܒܝܬ ܡܕܫܐ Joh x 22 *S* (=τὰ ἐνκαίνια). The use of ܣܝܡ, *lit.* 'honour,' for *Dedication* is curiously illustrated from the inscriptions on Palmyrene tombs. In addition to the inscription of ownership, which usually begins 'This grave (קברא דנא) was made by So-and-so,' there is in at least two cases a tablet under an ornamental niche, which says 'This memorial (or this statue), which is יקר בת עלמא, was set up by So-and-so to the honour of his family' (*De Vogüé* i pp. 40, 41, and p. 47). The setting up of the ornamental statue of the family genius or of the guardian of the tomb was the Dedication of the building to sacred purposes, just as the setting up of the Altar by Judas Maccabaeus (1 Macc iv 56) was the Dedication of the Temple. In any case it is interesting to find the same technical term used by the Christians of Edessa as was used by their heathen cousins at Palmyra about a century earlier.

ܐܘܢ *a bier*, Lk vii 14 S^{vid}. The original form of this Semitic word is preserved in the Arabic إِرَانٌ *'irân* 'a bier.' This became in Hebrew ארון, the long *â* becoming *ô*, as usual. The meaning is 'box' or 'ark,' and so was used for the 'Ark of the Covenant.' The Hebrew word in this technical sense passed over into Jewish Aramaic and also into Edessene Syriac, but the *ô* of *'arônâ* marks the word as borrowed from Hebrew. The Christian Palestinian (in Lk vii 14) has retained the word with the genuine Aramaic vowel, the spelling varying between ܐܢ and ܐܘܢ.

ܣܗܕܘܬܐ Lk ii 14 *S* (=εὐδοκία). The word corresponds exactly to רְעוּת Ezr v 17, vii 18. See above, on *Nöldeke* § 51.

[1] Somewhat similar to these words is ܩܢܛܘܢܝܐ, (i.e. κνεστιονάριοι, *quaestionarii*), used in the Peshitta as the equivalent of κουστωδία Matt xxvii 65 ff. Here *S* has ܓܢܛܘܢܝܐ and ܩܢܛܘܢܝܐ. The word ܩܢܛܘܢܝܐ (always in the plural as here) is, however, common in Syriac literature.

ܐܝܬܝܗܒ Lk xxiii 48 *S C* (= *συνπαραγενόμενοι*) : *cf* Acts of Thomas 178. The word exactly corresponds to 'se trouver' in French.

ܐܬܚܡܪ *to be excited* (of persons), used by all Syriac versions for *ἐμβριμᾶσθαι* Joh xi 33, 38 ; also for *ἀναστενάζειν* Mk viii 12 *S*, and for *διϊσχυρίζεσθαι* Lk xxii 59 *S C*. The word seems to be a metaphor taken from the stirring up of a storm.

ܗܕܐ ܥܡܐ *praters* Joh vii 49 S^{vid} (see vol. i, p. 554), corresponding to *ὁ ὄχλος οὗτος*. Here *C* has ܥܡܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ.

ܒܛܠܐ : in Matt vi 7 *S* has 'do not be saying *baṭṭâlâθâ*,' i.e. idle things, to render *μὴ βατταλογήσητε*, and a similar rendering is found in the Palestinian Lectionary. *C* and the Peshitta have 'be not stammering' (*mĕpaqqĕḥîn*), i.e. *μὴ βαττολογήσητε*. Is it possible that the word *βατταλογεῖν* is actually an early Christian coinage from the Aramaic ?

ܙܥܪ ܓܡܠܐ *the under-hair of camels*, Matt iii 4 *S C*. The word also occurred in Ephraim's Commentary on the Diatessaron, according to Ishô'dâd (*Harris*, p. 22).

ܝܒܫ Lk viii 6 *S C*. ܝܒܫ ܐܬܝܒܫ stands for *φυὲν ἐξηράνθη*, but ܐܬܝܒܫ means 'to be emaciated, wizened (from drought)' Ephr iv 491 B.

ܡܝܢܬܐ *wild mint* Matt xxiii 23 *S* (= *ἡδύοσμον*). *C* and syr.vg have the ordinary word ܢܥܢܥ, and so also *S* in Lk xi 42. The derivation of ܡܝܢܬܐ is obscure, but it does not seem to be a misswriting of *ἡδύοσμον* in Syriac letters, as the ܝ was quite clear in *S*.

ܙܪܥ ܥܡܡܐ *seed of the Gentiles*, used in Joh vii 35 *S C* for *ἡ διασπορὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων*. ܥܡܡܐ, *lit.* 'Aramaean,' is the regular conventional equivalent in Christian Syriac for 'a heathen,' without ethnographic signification, e.g. Rom i 16. But the way ܙܪܥ ܥܡܡܐ is used suggests that the technical sense of *διασπορὰ* for 'the Dispersed Jews' was not familiar to the translator. The Peshitta here has 'the countries of the nations.' In James i 1 *διασπορὰ* is rendered 'those sown among the nations' (ܕܙܪܥܝܢ ܒܥܡܡܐ), and in 1 Pet i 1 the 'Diaspora *of* Pontus' is translated 'those sown *in* Pontus.'

ܚܝܐ. The use of ܚܝܐ, *life*, to render *σωτηρία* and *σωτήριον*, instead of some word meaning 'deliverance,' together with the corresponding

equivalence of ܚܝܐ and *σώζεσθαι*, belongs rather to theology and philosophy than to linguistics. It is noteworthy that this remarkable usage of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* whereby 'salvation' is identified with 'life,' was retained in syr.vg. The same definition of 'salvation' is given also by Clement of Alexandria: *Σωτηρία τοίνυν τὸ ἕπεσθαι Χριστῷ· ὃ γὰρ γέγονεν ἐν αὐτῷ ζωή ἐστιν* (*Paed* I vi 27).

ܩܝܡܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ *the coming-to-life of the dead*, used for *ἀνάστασις* Matt xxiii 23, 28, 30, in *S* and partly also in *C* and syr.vg. It corresponds exactly to the Jewish תחיית המתים. The ordinary equivalent to *ἀνάστασις* is ܩܝܡܬܐ: it is noteworthy that the specifically Syriac term for the Resurrection, *viz.* ܐܬܬܥܝܬܐ, well used in the Peshitta of Joh xi 24, 25, does not occur in the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. Perhaps in early times ܐܬܬܥܝܬܐ meant *ἀνάψυξις* (Ac iii 19) rather than *ἀνάστασις*.

ܝܕܥ *to be acquainted with*, Mk xiv 68 *S*, Lk xxii 60 *S* (not *C*), Lk xxiv 18 *S C*, where other texts have ܝܕܥ. Hence ܡܫܬܡܘܕܥܢܐ *acquaintance*, used for *οἱ γνωστοί* Lk xxiii 49 *S C*, for *γνωστός* Joh xviii 15, 16 *S*. Similarly ܡܫܬܡܘܕܥܢܝ, used for "Boaz מדעתנו" in Ruth iii 2 syr.vg. In all three places *S* spells the word ܡܫܬܡܘܕܥܢܐ (*cf Nöldeke* § 126 B).

ܩܪܒܐ ܕܝܡܐ ܕܒܪܝܬܐ *carob-pods of the sea*, used for *κεράτια* Lk xv 16 *C*, where *S* has ܩܠܝܦܐ, i.e. 'S. John's Bread,' the Carob-tree bean: see art. 'Husks' in Encyclopaedia Biblica. But the addition of ܕܒܪܝܬܐ is very puzzling.

ܛܝܪܐ, i.e. *the hills*, is used for *ἀγρὸς* in the sense of 'the open-country' in Lk xii 28 *S C*, and *μέλι ἄγριον* is translated ܕܒܫ ܕܛܝܪܐ Matt iii 4 *S*. ܛܘܪܐ, *hill*, is used for this sense of *ἀγρὸς* in the Palestinian Lectionary.

ܟܣܦ ܕܪܝܫܐ Mk xii 14 *S* evidently differs from ܟܣܝ ܕܡܫܬܐ, the ordinary Syriac equivalent for 'poll-tax,' in order to indicate *ἐπικεφάλαιον* rather than *κῆνσος*.

ܡܪܝܐ ,ܡܐ Joh ix 21 *S*. For *αὐτὸς ἡλικίαν ἔχει* *S* has ܡܪܝܐ ,ܡܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܡܐ ܗܐ 'lo, he also hath become master of his years.' The Peshitta here has ,ܡܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܡܐ ܗܐ 'he also hath entered his years,' an almost equally idiomatic phrase.

ܡܓܪܬܐ Lk xvii 10 *C*. The word means 'the sweepings of a threshing-

floor,' 'chaff,' e.g. Amos viii 6. I have therefore translated ܥܒ̈ܕ̈ ܥܒ̈ܕ̈ by 'slaves *and* riff-raff.' But it is not unlikely that the translator confused ἀχρεῖοι *useless* with ἄχυροι *chaff-heaps*. The use of the rare Syriac word ܥܒ̈ܕ̈ in this forced and unnatural connexion probably led to its omission in *S*, followed by the Ethiopic version.

ܩܕܡܝܬܐ *the morning-twilight watch*, Mk xiii 35 *S*, is fem. to agree with ܫܥܬܐ understood. The Greek has ἀλεκτοροφωνία.

ܐܬܐ Joh iii 2 *S*, ܐܬ̈ܘ Joh iv 48 *C*, well known as a Jewish Aramaic term for 'miracle.' In Syriac it seems only to be used in the plural, chiefly in the phrase ܐܬ̈ܘܬ̈ܐ ܐܬ̈ܘ (i.e. σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα, as in Joh iv 48 and in Aphraates 181, 273). But in Joh iii 2 *S* ܐܬܐ corresponds to σημεῖα alone.

ܒܥܐ *to cast lots*, Matt xxvii 35 *S*, Lk xxiii 34 *S C*, where the Greek has βάλλειν κλῆρον. The ordinary Syriac phrase is ܐܬ̈ ܦܝܫ, as in Mk xv 24 *S*; but ܒܥܐ also occurs in Joh xix 24 syr.vg, where however the Greek has λαγχάνειν without κλῆρον.

ܦܛܝܪܐ *unleavened bread* (τὰ ἄζυμα), used in S. John to render πάσχα. See above on ܦܨܚܐ, and the Note on Joh vi 4.

ܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ *the mob, the common people*, Joh vii 49 *C*. The Greek is only ὁ ὄχλος οὗτος, but the comparatively rare Syriac word exactly hits the sense required. *S* has ܥܒ̈ܕ̈ *praters*: the ܒ and the ܪ are quite clear in the photograph taken by Mrs Lewis in 1902 (see above, p. 81). Possibly the original Syriac was ܥܒ̈ܕ̈ *outsiders*, as in Mk iv 11.

ܟܠܗ (with suffix) for ὅλως, Matt v 34 *S C*, Joh ix 34 *S*: see on *Nöldeke* § 155.

ܒܘܪܟܐ *a puddle, shallow pool*, Matt xiii 5 *S* (as I read the photograph). The word occurs in a gloss on τὰ πετρώδη, inserted apparently to shew that there was there a little moisture, though without 'depth of earth.' ܒܘܪܟܐ is used in Exod ii 3 syr.vg to translate סוּף.

ܪܘܡ ܐܝܕܝ *letting the hands hang down* (i.e. 'helplessness'), and ܪܘܡ ܦܫܩ ܐܝܕܝ *clasping the hands together* (i.e. 'perplexity') are used to render ἀπορία Lk xxi 25. The former is in *S*, the latter in *C* and syr.vg.

ܪܘܒܐ Matt vi 5 *S*, Lk xiv 21 *S C*, is used to render ῥύμη 'lane,' as distinguished from ܫܘܩܐ 'bazar,' a word which corresponds both to ἀγορά and to πλατεῖα. Like some other words for 'small street' in various languages ܪܘܒܐ means by etymology 'a fissure.'

ܬܟܠܐ *blue-purple*, used as a technical term for the 'ribband of blue' worn on a Jew's dress in accordance with Nu xv 38. It corresponds to κράσπεδον in Matt xiv 36 *C*, Matt xxiii 5 *S C* (and syr.vg). In Matt ix 20 *S* has ܙܓܐ (as also in xiv 36), while syr.vg has ܣܦܐ: it may therefore be conjectured that here also ܬܟܠܐ was the original reading of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*. Was there a prejudice against representing our Lord as dressed in a distinctively Jewish garb?

ܬܟܠܝ, i.e. Hebr. תְּכֵלֶת, used by syr.vg in Matt xxiii 5 for φυλακτήρια, but *S C* have ܫܝܪܝ ܕܬܟܠܝܗܘܢ 'the straps of their phylacteries.'

ܬܐܢܐ ܕܬܐܐ *an insipid fig-tree*, Lk xix 4 *S C* and syr.vg (= συκομορέα). There does not seem to be any other instance of ܒܪܝܐ in the sense of 'wild': in fact, the natural rendering of ܬܐܐ ܕܬܐܢܐ is 'a fig that has gone bad,' and it is difficult to resist the obvious explanation that the translator did not know what tree was meant and translated the word as if it were συκῆν μωράν. In Lk xvii 6 *S C* and syr.vg translate συκάμινος by ܬܐܬܐ i.e. 'mulberry.'

The Diatessaron, on the other hand, translated συκομορέα in Lk xix 4 by ܒܝܬ ܦܓܐ, the tree whose name forms part of the word 'Beth*phage*,' and if we may trust the Arabic (*Diat* xxxiii 10) it had 'fig' instead of mulberry in the passage corresponding to Lk xvii 6.

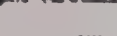
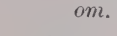
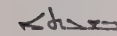
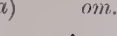
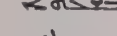
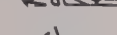
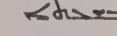
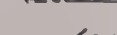
APPENDIX TO CHAPTER II.

(A) *Renderings of* εὐθύς, εὐθέως, *and kindred expressions.*

The renderings for εὐθύς which we commonly find in the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* are ܟܕܬܝ ܗܘ, ܡܕܝ ܗܝ, ܟܐܢ, and simple omission. In Latin also several renderings (including simple omission) are found, such as *continuo*, *confestim*, *protinus*, and *statim*. The lists which follow were originally drawn up in order to ascertain whether the Latin and the Syriac renderings shewed any tendency to agree independently of the Greek, but such is not the case, even with regard to omissions.

	S	*C*	Syr.vg
Matt iii 16 εὐθύς	*om.*	ܟܕܬܝ ܗܘ	ܟܐܢ
iv 20 εὐθέως	ܟܕܬܝ ܗܘ	ܟܕܬܝ ܗܘ	ܟܐܢ
22 εὐθέως (*om.* lat.vt)	*om.*	ܟܕܬܝ ܗܘ	ܟܐܢ
viii 3 εὐθέως (*om.* ℵ*)	ܟܕܬܝ ܗܘ	ܟܕܬܝ ܗܘ	ܟܕܬܝ ܗܘ
13 ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ ἐκείνῃ	ܟܕܬܝ ܗܘ	ܟܕܬܝ ܗܘ	ܟܕܬܝ ܗܘ
ix 25 (παραχρῆμα Φ)	ܡܕܝ ܗܝ	*hiat*	*om.* (=*rell.*)
30 (*after* καὶ: *cf* xx 34)	ܟܕܬܝ ܗܘ	*hiat*	ܟܐܢ
xiii 5 εὐθέως	ܡܕܝ ܗܝ	ܟܕܬܝ ܗܘ	ܡܕܝܗ
20 εὐθύς (*om. e*)	*om.*	ܗܘܟܕܡܝܘܬ	ܡܕܝܗ
21 εὐθύς	ܟܠ	ܟܠ	ܟܠ
xiv 22 εὐθέως (*om.* ℵ*C*al)	*illegible*	*om.*	ܟܐܢ
27 εὐθύς	ܟܐܢ	ܟܕܬܝ ܗܘ	ܡܕܝܗ
31 εὐθέως	ܟܐܢ	ܟܕܬܝ ܗܘ	ܡܕܝܗ
xx 34 εὐθέως	*hiat*	ܟܕܬܝ ܗܘ	ܡܕܝ ܗܝ
xxi. 2 εὐθέως (*om.* lat.eur)	*hiat*	ܟܡ	ܟܐܢ
3 εὐθύς	*hiat*	ܟܐܢ	ܟܐܢ
19 παραχρῆμα	*hiat*	ܟܕܬܝ ܗܘ	ܟܐܢ
20 παραχρῆμα	ܡܕܝܗ	ܡܕܝܗ	ܡܕܝܗ
xxiv 29 εὐθέως	ܟܐܢ	*hiat*	ܟܐܢ
xxv 15 *ad fin.* εὐθέως	*illegible*	,,	ܟܐܢ
xxvi 49 εὐθέως	*om.*	,,	ܟܐܢ
74 εὐθύς (or -έως)	ܟܕܬܝ ܗܘ	,,	ܟܕܬܝ ܗܘ
xxvii 48 εὐθέως	ܟܕܬܝ ܗܘ	,,	ܟܕܬܝ ܗܘ

		S	*C*	Syr.vg
Mk i 10	εὐθύς (*om.* D lat.eur)	*hiat*	*hiat*	ܐܝܟ
12	εὐθύς	*hiat*	,,	ܐܝܟ
18	εὐθύς (*om. c*)	ܐܦ ܟܕ ܐܟ	,,	ܐܝܟ
20	εὐθύς (*om. b t*)	ܐܦ ܟܕ ܐܟ	,,	ܐܝܟ
21	εὐθύς (*om. c*)	*om.*	,,	ܐܝܟ
23	εὐθύς (*om.* ς D latt)	(*om.*)	,,	*om.*
28	εὐθύς (*om.* ℵ* 1 28 lat.vt)	*om.*	,,	ܐܝܟ
29	εὐθύς (*om.* D *e c ff r*)	*om.*	,,	*om.*
30	εὐθύς (*om. b c ff q r*)	*om.*	,,	*om.*
31	(εὐθέως, *om.* ℵ B al *e* arm)	ܐܦ ܟܕ ܐܟ	,,	ܐܝܟ
42	εὐθύς (*om. b c r*)	ܐܦ ܟܕ ܐܟ	,,	ܐܦ ܟܕ ܐܟ
43	εὐθύς (*om. e b c* aeth)	*om.*	,,	*om.*
ii 2	(εὐθέως, *om.* ℵ B al)	*hiat*	,,	*om.*
8	εὐθύς (*om.* D 28 565 al)	*hiat*	,,	*om.*
12	εὐθύς (*om.* lat.vt)	*hiat*	,,	ܒܗ ܟܕ ܐ
iii 6	εὐθύς (*om.* D L *b c q*)	ܒܗ ܟܕ ܐ	,,	ܒܗ ܟܕ ܐ
iv 5	εὐθύς	*om.*	,,	ܒܗ ܟܕ ܐ
15	εὐθύς (*om.* 1–209 arm)	*om.*	,,	ܐܝܟ
16	εὐθύς (*om.* D 28 *c ff i q*)	*om.*	,,	ܐܝܟ
17	εὐθύς (*om.* 1–209)	*hiat*	,,	ܟܠ
29	εὐθύς (*om. e c*)	*hiat*	,,	ܐܝܟ
v 2	(εὐθύς, *om.* B lat.vt arm)	*om.*	,,	*om.*
13	(εὐθέως, *om.* ℵ B al)	*om.*	,,	*om.*
29	εὐθύς	*hiat*	,,	ܐܝܟ
30	εὐθύς (*om.* lat.eur)	*hiat*	,,	ܐܝܟ
36	(εὐθέως, *om.* ℵ B D al latt. exc. *a*)	*hiat*	,,	*om.*
42	εὐθύς	*hiat*	,,	ܒܗ ܟܕ ܐ
vi 25ᵃ	εὐθύς (*om.* D L 1 lat.vt)	ܐܝܟ	,,	ܐܝܟ
25ᵇ	ἑξαυτῆς (*om.* D *c f*)	ܐܦ ܟܕ ܐ ܐܝܟ	,,	ܐܦ ܟܕ ܐ ܐܝܟ
27	εὐθύς (*om. c ff* vg)	*om.*	,,	ܐܝܟ
45	εὐθύς (*om. c*)	ܐܝܟ ܠܘ	,,	ܐܝܟ
50	εὐθύς (*om.* D 33 *c ff i*)	ܐܦ ܟܕ ܐ ܐܟ	,,	ܒܗ ܟܕ ܐ

	S	*C*	Syr.vg
Mk vi 54 εὐθύς (*om. q*)		*hiat*	
vii 25 εὐθύς (*om. a n q*)	*om.*	,,	
35 (εὐθύς, *om.* B D lat.vt)		,,	
viii 10 εὐθύς (*om.* D lat.vt exc. *a*)	*om.*	,,	
ix 8 ἐξάπινα (εὐθύς D lat.eur)		,,	
15 εὐθύς		,,	
20 εὐθύς (*om.* D lat.eur.)		,,	
24 εὐθύς		,,	
x 52 εὐθύς		,,	
xi 2 εὐθύς (*om. k*)		,,	
3 εὐθύς		,,	
xiv 43 εὐθύς (*om.* D 1 13 565 latt)	*om.*	,,	*om.*
45 εὐθύς (*om.* D 565 lat.vt)		,,	
72 εὐθύς (*om. s*)	*om.*	,,	
xv 1 εὐθύς (*om. a c*)	*om.*	,,	
Lk i 64 παραχρῆμα (*om. e*)		*hiat*	
ii 38 αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ		,,	
iv 39 παραχρῆμα		,,	
v 13 εὐθέως		,,	
25 παραχρῆμα		,,	
39 (εὐθέως, *om.* ℵB *om. ver* D latt)	*hiat*	,,	
vi 49 εὐθύς (*om.* D *a c*)		,,	
vii 21 ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ		,,	
viii 44 παραχρῆμα	*om.*	*om.*	
47 παραχρῆμα			
55 παραχρῆμα (*om.* ℵ*)			
x 21 ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ (die *e*)			
xii 36 εὐθέως (*om. e* Cyp)			
54 εὐθέως		*om.*	
xiii 13 παραχρῆμα			

	S	*C*	Syr.vg
Lk xiv 5 εὐθέως	*om.*	ܡܕܡ	ܡܕܡ
xvii 7 εὐθέως (*om. b s ff i q*)	ܡܕܡ	ܡܚܝܕ ܟܝ	ܡܕܡ
xviii 43 παραχρῆμα	ܡܚܝܕ ܟܝ	ܡܚܝܕ ܟܝ	ܡܚܝܕ ܟܝ
xix 11 παραχρῆμα (*om. e*)	ܕܡ ܟܚܝܕ	ܟܚܝܕ ܕܡ	ܟܚܝܕ ܕܡ
xx 19 ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ (*om. e*)	ܟܚܝܕ ܕܡ ܡ	ܟܚܝܕ ܕܡ ܒ	ܟܚܝܕ ܕܡ
xxi 9 οὐκ εὐθέως	ܠ ܕܚܝܠ	ܠ ܕܚܝܠ	ܠ ܕܚܝܠ
xxii 60 παραχρῆμα	ܟܚܝܕ ܡ	ܟܚܝܕ ܒ	ܡܕܡ
xxiv 31 (*om. Gr*)	ܡܕܡ	ܡܕܡ	ܡܕܡ
33 αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ	ܟܚܝܕ ܡ	ܟܚܝܕ ܒ	ܟܚܝܕ ܒ
Joh v 9 εὐθέως (*om.* ℵ*D *l* arm)	ܡܚܝܕ ܟܝ	ܟܚܝܕ ܒ	ܡܚܝܕ ܟܝ
vi 21 εὐθέως	ܡܚܝܕ ܟܝ	ܕܡ ܟܚܝܕ ܒ	ܟܚܝܕ ܒ
xi 44 (εὐθύς D *p r f* vg)	ܟܚܝܕ ܡ	*hiat*	*om.* (= *rell.*)
xiii 30 εὐθύς (*om. e*)	*om.*	,,	ܡܚܝܕ ܟܝ
32 εὐθύς	ܡܕܡ	,,	ܡܕܡ
xviii 27 εὐθέως	ܟܚܝܕ ܡ	,,	ܟܚܝܕ ܒ
xix 34 εὐθύς (*om. e*)	*hiat*	,,	ܡܕܡ
xxi 3 (εὐθύς, *om.* ℵB al latt)	*om.*	,,	*om.*

The most notable points that emerge from the above lists are :—

(1) To render εὐθύς, εὐθέως, the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* tends to use ܟܚܝܕ ܒ, the Peshitta to use ܡܕܡ.

(2) In S. Luke ܟܚܝܕ ܒ is avoided as a rendering of εὐθύς, εὐθέως. This is probably due to the fact that [ἐν] αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ is so often used by this Evangelist.

(3) To render παραχρῆμα the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* never uses ܡܕܡ, which is the almost constant rendering in the Peshitta.

(4) The omission of εὐθύς or εὐθέως rarely occurs, except in passages where a number of allied documents also omit.

(B) *Renderings of* οὖν.

The rendering of οὖν presents some interest on account of its extraordinary frequency as a connecting particle in S. John. The natural Syriac equivalent is ܗܵܟܵܐ, but like the English 'therefore,' to which it very nearly corresponds, it is slightly stronger than οὖν. Consequently we find in the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* that ܘ and ܕܝ (i.e. δὲ) are used to render οὖν. Simple omission also is not infrequent.

A table of the renderings would be unsatisfactory on account of the fluctuation in the Greek text itself. In many instances it is impossible to ascertain what Greek particle was likely to have stood in the MS that the translator of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* was using.

A numerical reckoning of the occurrences of ܗܵܟܵܐ gives some remarkable results.

ܗܵܟܵܐ occurs in	*S*	*C*	Syr.vg	No. of times οὖν is given in Bruder's Concordance
Matt	16	24	41	56
Mk	4	*hiat*	7	11
Lk	11	9	21	46
Joh	2	4	11	212

No doubt in a large number of cases the οὖν which is left untranslated was absent even from the codex used for revising the Peshitta, but when every allowance is made these numbers shew at a glance how insupportable the Johannine οὖν was felt to be in a Semitic rendering. It is a remarkable circumstance that both in S. Mark and S. John we have a connecting word very frequently employed in a manner that is hardly Greek, and yet not at the first glance Semitic.

In the course of working at the Syriac equivalents for S. Mark's εὐθὺς and S. John's οὖν it has occurred to me that fundamentally they mean the same thing, and that they really correspond to the Hebrew '*wāw* consecutive.' Not, of course, that either of these Gospels is a translation from the Hebrew; but if the authors of these Gospels were familiar with the Old Testament otherwise than through the awkward medium of the LXX, they might well have felt themselves in need of something to correspond to the Hebrew idiom. The essence of the meaning of '*wāw* consecutive' is that the event related is regarded as happening in due sequence to what has gone before. To express this καὶ is too inadequate a link, while δὲ implies a contrast which is wholly wanting in the Hebrew: the turn of thought is more or less our English 'and so.' But this is exactly what S. Mark means by his καὶ εὐθύς, and it is what is generally meant in the Fourth Gospel by οὖν. Simon's wife's mother was sick of a fever *and so* they tell Jesus of her (καὶ εὐθύς Mk i 30): S. Mark does not mean to emphasise the haste they were in to tell the news. Similarly in S. John there are literally scores of verses beginning with εἶπεν οὖν or εἶπον οὖν where 'he said therefore' brings out far too prominently the idea of causation. All that is meant is וַיֹּאמֶר '*and so* he said,' or '*and so* they said,' as the case may be.

The *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* is the translation of the Gospels which of all others is nearest in spirit to the evangelists themselves. That this translation so often omits εὐθὺς in S. Mark, and so often omits οὖν in S. John or translates it by a simple 'and,' is strong evidence that these particles are in their essential meaning nothing more than a copula—a copula, it may be, with a certain *nuance*, but still merely a copula.

(C) *Syriac equivalents for 'answered and said.'*

The Syriac renderings for ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν and the other Greek phrases which we usually render in English by 'answered and said' are ܐܡܪ ܥܢܐ 'he answered and said' and the simple ܐܡܪ 'he said.' The tense of these verbs will be discussed in the latter part of this Note.

The chief results obtained from tabulating the actual renderings found in *S C* and syr.vg are as follows:

(1) When the sense really is 'to make a reply' the Syriac is ܦܬܓܡܐ ܣܒ. 'to give a response.' It is only when the sense is practically no more than 'to say' that the Syriac uses ܐܡܪ ܥܢܐ or the simple ܐܡܪ.

(2) When ἀποκρίνεσθαι occurs alone without λέγειν the Syriac has ܐܡܪ not ܥܢܐ. The only exceptions are in the Peshitta text of S. John where 'answered and said' is found for ἀποκρίνεσθαι Joh v 7, 11, vi 68, viii 19, x 25, xiii (26,) 36, xviii 23, mostly without outside support. ܥܢܐ *never* occurs without ܐܡܪ. Even in Lk x 28 ὀρθῶς ἀπεκρίθης is rendered 'Well hast thou *said*!'

(3) In S. John, where the usual Greek phrase is ἀπεκρίθη καὶ εἶπεν (or λέγει), syr.vg has 'answered and said' every time except Joh iv 17. In *S* and *C*, on the other hand, ܥܢܐ only occurs in

Joh ii 19 *S*, iii 9, 10 *C* (not *S* in either place), vii 16 *S* (not *C*), ix 20 *S*, xviii 30 *S*.

(4) In S. Matthew Syriac authorities read simple ܐܡܪ instead of ܐܡܪ ܥܢܐ in the following places, practically without other support:—

Matt iii 15 *C*	xvii 4 *C*	xxiv 2 — vg
xii 38 *S* (*C*)	11 *C*	xxv 9 *S* —
xv 28 *S C* vg	xxi 27 *C*	37 — — vg
xvi 2 *C*	29 *S C*	xxvi 23 *S* —
17 *C*		

In the last four passages *C* is missing, and *S* is illegible in xxv 37. In Matt xii 38 *C* reads 'drew near' instead of 'answered' with *b* of the Old Latin.

(5) In S. Mark *C* fails us, and the many variations in the Greek make the task of enumerating the Syriac renderings more difficult and uncertain. In the following places *S* and syr.vg have ܐܡܪ instead of ܐܡܪ ܥܢܐ without outside support:—

Mk vi 37 *S* vg	x 3 vg
vii 28 *S*	51 vg
viii 29 *S*	xii 35 *S*
	xv 12 vg

The omission of 'answered' in Mk xi 33[a] is doubtless connected with the other variations in that verse, and therefore is not counted here.

(6) In S. Luke our Syriac authorities have ܐܡܪ instead of ܐܡܪ ܠܗ without outside support in the following places:—

Lk	i 60	*S*		x 27	*C*		xix 40	*C* vg
	iii 11	*S*	*C*	41	*C*		xx 3	*C*
	16		*C*	xiii 8	*C* vg		39	*S* *C*
	vii 40	*S*	*C*	xv 29	*C* vg		xxiii 3	*C* vg
	43	*S*	*C*	xvii 17	*C*		40	*S* *C* vg
	ix 19	(*S*)	*C*	20	*C*		xxiv 18	*S* *C*
				37	*S* *C*			

In Lk i 60, the only place where *S* stands alone in omission, *C* is missing. On the other hand *S* has ܐܡܪ ܠܗ in Lk viii 46, 48, 50, where there is no ἀποκρίνεσθαι in the Greek, and also in Lk xx 34 where it is only found in inferior texts. In this last passage the Diatessaron seems to have had *Then said to them our Lord*, if we suppose that Aphraates 167 comes from Tatian's Harmony: the text of *S* may be an independent adaptation of Matt xxii 29.

The general impression left on me by these textual facts is that the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* very often rendered ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν and the kindred phrases by simple ܐܡܪ, and that there was a further tendency to drop the 'answered and,' even where it once stood in the Syriac text. This tendency is especially visible in *C*. It is not the case that *S* has any general tendency to insert ܠܗ, for the only place where *S* has ܐܡܪ ܠܗ against the Greek is Lk viii 46—50. But in syr.vg the reviser, in remedying the almost total omission of ܠܗ from the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*, did wrongly supply the word in a few passages.

In any case it is impossible to bring forward the 'Old Syriac' as an authority for the omission of ἀποκριθεὶς in these introductory phrases, though the presence of ܠܗ is good evidence that some form of ἀποκρίνεσθαι was contained in the text which lay before the translator.

The words ܐܡܪ ܠܗ may be vocalised *'ĕnâ wemar* (i.e. 'he answered and said') or *'ĕnâ wámar* (i.e. 'he answered and saith'). As a matter of fact, the traditional pointing of the Syriac Vulgate always makes it 'he answered and said,' both for ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν and for ἀποκριθεὶς λέγει. The earliest Syriac MSS are not vocalised, but we may form some idea of the correctness of this vocalisation by observing how the form is rendered in the feminine and in the plural. In Syriac 'she answered and said' is ܬܐܡܪ ܠܗ, but 'she answered and saith' is ܡܐܡܪ ܠܗ. If the traditional vocalisation for the masc. sing. be correct, the latter form ought never to appear; and similarly we ought always to find ܐܡܪ ܠܗ, never ܡܐܡܪ ܠܗ.

But the fact is that 'they answered and say' is by far the more common formula. In the following Table the Peshitta renderings are given with the variants of *S* and *C*. Where no reading of *S* is given the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* has ܐܡܪ without ܠܗ.

	Syr.vg		Syr.vg
Matt xii 38	ܐܡܪ ... ܠܗ	Mk vii 28	ܐܡܪܐ ܠܗ
xxi 27	ܐܡܪ ܠܗ (= *S*, *om. C*)	xi 33[a]	ܐܡܪ ܠܗ
xxv 9	ܐܡܪܐ .. ܕܢ		
44	ܐܡܪ ... ܠܡܢ (= *S*)	Joh ii 18	ܐܡܪ ... ܠܗ
xxvi 66	ܐܡܪ ܠܗ (ܐܡܪ ܠܗ *S*)	vii 20	ܐܡܪ ܣܛܢ ܠܟ
xxvii 25	ܐܡܪ .. ܠܗ (= *S*)	52	ܐܡܪ ܠܗ
		viii 39	ܐܡܪ ܠܗ
Lk i 60	ܐܡܪܐ .. ܠܗ	48	ܐܡܪ .. ܠܗ
ix 19	ܐܡܪ ܠܗ	ix 20	ܐܡܪ .. ܠܗ (*not S*)
xvii 37	ܐܡܪ ܠܗ	34	ܐܡܪ ܠܗ
xx 39	ܐܡܪ .. ܠܗ	xviii 30	ܐܡܪ ܠܗ (= *S*)

In Mk xi 33[a] some Peshitta MSS have ܐܡܪ ܠܗ. In Joh ix 20 *S* has certainly ܐܡܪ, not ܐܡܪ. I have not given the Greek, as the Syriac renderings do not distinguish between ἀποκριθέντες λέγουσιν and ἀποκριθέντες εἶπον, or even ἀπεκρίθησαν καὶ εἶπον. It must also be noticed that the Peshitta text in this matter cannot be explained as a survival from the 'Old Syriac,' for in most of the passages the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* has the single verb, and in Lk i 60 *S* has the perf. ܐܡܪ where syr.vg has ܐܡܪܐ .. ܠܗ.

Under these circumstances it is almost impossible to believe that ܐܡܪ ܠܟ should uniformly have been intended for *'ĕnâ wemar* in each of the 117 places where it occurs, and never for *'ĕnâ wâmar*. The point in itself is of small importance, but it shews us that the traditional vocalisation of the Peshitta is not always to be trusted.

(D) *The names of S. Peter.*

The names by which S. Peter is spoken of afford a curious illustration of the danger of *a priori* reasoning in textual matters. The names actually found are (1) ܫܡܥܘܢ *Shim'ôn*, (2) ܟܐܦܐ *Képhâ* (i.e. 'Stone'), and (3) the double name ܟܐܦܐ ܫܡܥܘܢ *Shim'ôn Képhâ*. When once it was ascertained that the Syriac-speaking Church did not use the Greek name *Petros*, it might easily be assumed that *Shim'ôn* corresponded to Σίμων, and *Képhâ* to Κηφᾶς and to Πέτρος. But this is not always borne out by the actual evidence.

The Greek name *Petros* only occurs once, *viz.* Joh i 42 *S*, where Κηφᾶς, ὃ ἑρμηνεύεται Πέτρος· is rendered

ܟܐܦܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܦܫܪ ܟܐܦܐ

Kepha, that is interpreted in Greek 'Petros.'

Here *C* is missing, and syr.vg simply omits ὃ ἑρμηνεύεται Πέτρος, just as the similar clause ὅ ἐστιν μεθερμηνευόμενον Χριστός in the preceding verse is omitted by all the Syriac texts.

In a reference to the story of S. Peter walking on the water (Matt xiv 28) the name ܫܡܥܘܢ occurs twice in Ephraim *Overbeck* 27, but there is no exact quotation. In a somewhat similar allusion in *Lamy* i 263 the name 'Simon' only occurs.

As we should expect, Σίμων is generally rendered by ܫܡܥܘܢ *Simon*, as always in the phrase *Simon, son of Jona*, and also in Matt xvii 25^{c}; Mk i 16, 30, 36, xiv 37; Lk iv 38 *bis*, v 4, 5, 10 *bis*, xxii 31 *bis*, xxiv 34, but *Simon Kepha* is put for Σίμων in Mk i 29 *S*, Lk v 3 syr.vg, Joh i 41 (42) *C*. The other Syriac texts have *Simon* alone in these three passages.

The following Table gives the Syriac renderings corresponding to Πέτρος in the Greek Gospels. Where the Greek has Σίμων Πέτρος the Syriac rendering is printed in *italics*.

S. MATT.	*S*	*C*	Syr.vg	
iv 18	*Simon*	*Simon...Kepha*	*Simon...Kepha*	
viii 14	Simon Kepha	Simon Kepha	Simon	
x 2	*Simon Kepha*	—	*Simon...Kepha*	
xiv 28	Simon Kepha	Simon Kepha	Kepha	
29	Simon Kepha	Simon Kepha	Kepha	
xv 15	Simon Kepha	Simon Kepha	Simon Kepha	
xvi 16	—	*Simon Kepha*	*Simon Kepha*	
18	—	Kepha	Kepha	
22	—	Simon Kepha	Kepha	
23	—	Simon	Kepha	
xvii 1	—	Simon Kepha	Kepha	
4	—	Simon Kepha	Kepha	
24	Simon	Simon	Kepha	
25^{a}	*om.*	Simon	*om.*	There are here several insertions & transpositions of S. Peter's name in Greek and Latin MSS
25^{b}	*om.*	*om.*	Kepha	
26	*om.*	Simon	Simon	
xviii 21	Simon Kepha	Simon Kepha	Kepha	
xix 27	Simon Kepha	Simon Kepha	Kepha	
xxvi 33	Simon Kepha	—	Kepha	
35	Simon Kepha	—	Kepha	
37	Simon	—	Kepha	
40	Simon	—	Kepha	
58	Simon	—	Simon Kepha	
69	Simon	—	Kepha	
73	Simon	—	Kepha	
75	Simon	—	Kepha	
S. MARK				
iii 16	*Simon Kepha*	—	*Simon...Kepha*	
v 37	—	—	Simon Kepha	

S. MARK	*S*	*C*	Syr.vg	
viii 29	Kepha	—	Simon Kepha	
32	Simon Kepha	—	Kepha	
33	Kepha	—	Simon	
ix 2	Kepha	—	Kepha	
5	Kepha	—	Kepha	
x 28	Kepha	—	Kepha	
xi 21	Kepha	—	Simon	
xiii 3	Kepha	—	Kepha	
xiv 29	Kepha	—	Kepha	
31	Simon	—	*om.*	[syr.vg = ς ℵ B D latt]
33	Kepha	—	Kepha	
37	Kepha	—	Kepha	
54	Kepha	—	Simon	
66	Kepha	—	Simon	
67	*om.*	—	*om.*	[syrr = 1 &c 13 &c 565 *c*]
70	Kepha	—	Kepha	[*om.* D *a*]
72	Kepha	—	Simon	
xvi 7	Kepha	—	Kepha	

S. LUKE				
v 8	*Simon*	—	*Simon Kepha*	[*om.* D 13 &c *a b e*]
vi 14	*Simon...Kepha*	—	*Simon...Kepha*	
viii 45	Kepha	Kepha	Simon Kepha	
51	Kepha	Kepha	Simon	
ix 20	Simon Kepha	Simon Kepha	Simon	['Simon Petrus' *c ff q f* vg]
28	Kepha	Kepha	Simon	
32	Kepha	Simon Kepha	Simon	
33	Kepha	Kepha	Simon	
xii 41	Kepha	Kepha	Simon Kepha	
xviii 28	Kepha	Kepha	Simon Kepha	
xxii 8	Kepha	Kepha	Kepha	
34	Kepha	*om.*	Simon	
54	Kepha	Simon Kepha	Simon	
55	Kepha	Kepha	Simon	
58	*om.*	Kepha	Kepha	[*S* = D lat.eur]
60	Kepha	Kepha	Kepha	
61[a]	Kepha	Kepha	Kepha	
61[b]	Kepha	Kepha	Simon	[*om.* D 157 *g a t*]
62	*om.*	*om.*	Simon	[syrr = ℵ B D (*om. v.* 62 lat.vt)
xxiv 12	Simon	Simon	Simon	[*om. v.* 12 D lat.vt]

S. JOHN	*S*	*C*	Syr.vg	
i 40 (41)	*Simon*	*Simon Kepha*	*Simon*	
42 (43)	Kepha, *i.e.* Petros	—	Kepha	
44 (45)	Simon	—	Simon	
vi 8	*Simon Kepha*	*Simon Kepha*	*Simon Kepha*	
68	*Simon Kepha*	*Simon Kepha*	*Simon Kepha*	
xiii 6[a]	*Simon Kepha*	—	*Simon Kepha*	
6[b]	Simon	—	Simon	[λέγει, + 'Petrus' latt]
8	Simon	—	Simon Kepha	
9	*Simon*	—	*Simon Kepha*	[*om.* Σίμων D]
24	*Simon Kepha*	—	*Simon Kepha*	
36	*Simon Kepha*	—	*Simon Kepha*	
37	Simon	—	Simon Kepha	[*om.* Πέτρος D]
xviii 10	*Simon Kepha*	—	*Simon Kepha*	
11	Kepha	—	Kepha	
15	*Simon Kepha*	—	*Simon Kepha*	
16[a]	Simon Kepha	—	Simon	[*for S, cf ver.* 25]
16[b]	Simon	—	Simon	
17	Simon	—	Simon	
18	Simon	—	Simon	
25	[*om.* (*cf vv.* 16[a], 18)]	—	*Simon Kepha*	
26	Simon ⌜Kepha⌝	—	Simon	
27	Simon	—	Simon	
xx 2	Simon Kepha	—	Simon Kepha	
3	*om.*	—	Simon	
4	Simon	—	Simon	
6	Simon	—	Simon	
xxi 2	*Simon Kepha*	—	*Simon Kepha*	
3	*Simon*	—	*Simon Kepha*	
7[a]	Simon	—	Kepha	
7[b]	*Simon*	—	*Simon*[1]	
11	*Simon*	—	*Simon Kepha*	
15	*Simon*	—	*Simon Kepha*	
17	Simon	—	Kepha	
20	Simon	—	Simon Kepha	
21	Simon	—	Kepha	

A glance at the above tables will shew the necessity for taking each Gospel separately and also for considering what the underlying Greek is.

[1] Ephr vi 158 has *Simon Kepha.*

Where the Greek has Σίμων Πέτρος, the Syriac has naturally *Simon Kepha*, the exceptions being Matt iv 18 and Joh i 40 (41), xxi 3, 7^{b}, 11, 15, where *S* has *Simon* only[1]. Lk v 8 is not an exception, for there *S* is simply following the so-called 'Western' authorities in omitting Πέτρος. The omission of Joh xviii 25 is caused by the peculiar transpositions made by *S* in this chapter.

Where the Greek has Πέτρος without Σίμων we find a remarkable distinction between the Gospels. In the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* 'Kepha' is avoided in Matt and Joh, but almost exclusively employed in Mk and Lk. The only instances where *Kepha* alone is used in Matt or Joh are Matt xvi 18 and Joh i 42, passages where *Simon* would have been out of place, and also Joh xviii 11. On the other hand, only two instances occur in the other Gospels where Πέτρος is rendered 'Simon' in *S* or *C*. These are Mk xiv 31 and Lk xxiv 12 *S C*. In the former passage the true text has ὁ δὲ without Πέτρος, but *S* adds ܫܡܥܘܢ for clearness' sake, just as a number of Greek MSS add 'Peter': the textual evidence does not suggest that ὁ δὲ Πέτρος stood before the translator of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*. In Lk xxiv 12 we are dealing with one of the so-called 'Western Non-Interpolations.' The verse is omitted by D and the Old Latin, and is certainly no part of the genuine Gospel according to S. Luke. It is therefore striking to find that the text of the verse in *S* and *C* contains an equivalent for 'Peter' that we do not meet with elsewhere in this Gospel. At the same time the hypothesis that *S* and *C* are here themselves interpolated, and that the verse forms no part of the original *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*, raises serious difficulties. The translator may possibly have been influenced by the four-fold occurrence of 'Simon' in the parallel passage Joh xx 3—10.

The preference shewn by *S* and *C* in Matt, and to a less degree in Joh, for 'Simon Kepha' as a rendering of Πέτρος is a remarkable feature of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. I see no reason to suspect that our MSS do not in this preserve the original rendering of the translator.

As for the Peshitta, the preference for 'Kepha' as a rendering of Πέτρος in Matt and Mk is what we should expect. The surprising thing is the preference for 'Simon' shewn in Lk and Joh. In S. John this use may be explained as a survival from the Old Syriac, but that explanation will not hold equally for S. Luke. It is impossible to believe that *S* and *C* have been independently conformed to the Greek in this one particular, while the direct Syriac ancestors of syr.vg have escaped: it is more probable that the double name *Simon Kepha* was once more frequent in the Syriac S. Luke (*cf* ix 20 *S C*, xxii 54 *C*), and that the reviser, considering that both ܫܡܥܘܢ and ܟܐܦܐ were each separately an equivalent for Πέτρος, took in this Gospel the former name instead of the latter.

In any case the evidence derived from the Syriac texts of S. Luke shews us how dangerous it is to use the Peshitta text of any book, such as the Acts, as a starting point for investigations about the original form of the Proper Names in the N.T. Yet this is what Dr Merx has done (*Erläuterung* i 164). Dr Merx comes to the conclusion that Πέτρος is generally a later correction and that the Evangelists commonly wrote Συμεών instead. A similar argument might be used to prove that the Evangelists wrote Μεσσίας where our Greek MSS have Χριστός.

[1] Also Joh i 40 (41), xxi 7^{b} syr.vg. But in the latter passage Ephraim has *Simon Kepha*.

(E) *Renderings of* Ἰησοῦς *and of* κύριος

The usual rendering of [ὁ] Ἰησοῦς in the Syriac Versions is ܝܫܘܥ, pronounced by Jacobites *Yeshû'* and by Nestorians *Íshô'*. This is doubtless the original name of which Ἰησοῦς is the Greek transcription: it frequently occurs in the O.T. with the vocalisation יֵשׁוּעַ *Yéshûa'*.

But one of the most curious features of *S* is that ܡܪܢ *Máran*, i.e. 'our Lord,' is occasionally used to render [ὁ] Ἰησοῦς. This occurs

Matt viii 3—xi 7 (inclusive).

Lk viii 40.

Joh i 36—vi 5 (inclusive), viii 34, xi 44, xii 16, xiii 23.

In S. Mark ܡܪܢ never occurs.

The only places where ܡܪܢ is similarly found in *C* is (1) Matt iv 18, where *S* and syr.vg omit with most authorities, but E L Δ al^{pm} *a c h m* arm add ὁ Ἰησοῦς; and (2) Lk xxii 25, where syr.vg has 'Jesus' with Λ al^{p}, but *S* omits with all other authorities.

In the quotations of Aphraates, the only other 'Old Syriac' source of any considerable bulk, 'our Lord' is used instead of 'Jesus' in Matt xviii 22, xxii 29; Lk ix 60, xix 9. On the other hand 'Jesus' occurs in Aphraates' quotations of Mk x 21, 23 (= Matt xix 23); Mk xvi 19; Lk iii 23; Joh xiii 8, 10.

Before estimating the reason of these variations it will be well to tabulate the Syriac renderings of ὁ κύριος, when used as it occasionally is in S. Luke and S. John in place of the personal name 'Jesus.' The vocative Κύριε is naturally rendered by ܡܪܝ *my Lord*, or sometimes (when the speaker is one of the disciples) by ܡܪܢ *our Lord*. In tabulating the occurrences of ὁ κύριος in this sense it is necessary to give the Greek and Latin various readings somewhat fully: it will usually be found that important authorities read 'Jesus' or omit the name altogether.

S. LUKE	*S*	*C*	Syr.vg	Greek and Latin evidence for ὁ Ἰησοῦς, or for omission
v 17^{b}	Jesus	—	(the LORD)	[*see below*]
vii 13	Jesus	—	Jesus	$\overline{\text{ιc}}$ D 1&c. lat. *q* -vg^{codd}
x 1	*om.*	*om.*	Jesus	$\overline{\text{IHS}}$ *b f r* *om.* D *a c e*
39	Jesus	our Lord	our Lord	$\overline{\text{ιγ}}$ ς A rell *b* vg^{cod} $\overline{\text{κγ}}$ ℵ B*C*D L Ξ al lat.vt -vg
41	Jesus	*om.*	Jesus	$\overline{\text{ιc}}$ ς D A rell *b c e f q r* vg^{cod} $\overline{\text{κc}}$ ℵ B* L 157 *a i l* vg
xi 39	Jesus	our Lord	Jesus	$\overline{\text{ιc}}$ U c^{scr} al^{5} lat.vg^{cod}
xii 42	Jesus	our Lord	Jesus	$\overline{\text{IHS}}$ *b* vg^{cod} *om. e i*
xiii 15	Jesus	Jesus	Jesus	$\overline{\text{ιc}}$ D^{gr} F U Γ 1&c. 28 13&c. al^{15} lat.vg^{codd}
xvii 5	Jesus	our Lord	our Lord	$\overline{\text{DNE}}$ (for $\overline{\text{DNO}}$) *b c e ff q r* vg^{codd} *om. l*
6	*om.*	*om.*	*om.*	$\overline{\text{IHS}}$ *l r* vg^{cod} *om. a b c e ff i q*

S. LUKE	*S*	*C*	Syr.vg	Greek and Latin evidence for ὁ Ἰησοῦς, or for omission
xviii 6	Jesus	our Lord	our Lord	
xix 8	Jesus	our Lord	Jesus	ΙΝ G K M Π 13 &c. al^{30} *e* vg^{codd}
xxii 25	*om.*	our Lord	Jesus	ΙΝ Λ al^{p} *om. rell*
31	(*om. clause*)	our Lord	Jesus	ΙΗS lat.vg^{codd} *om. clause* B L T
61^{a}	Jesus	our Lord	Jesus	ΙC D 1 &c. 124* al^{10} lat.vg^{cod}
61^{b}	Jesus	our Lord	our Lord	
xxiv 3	(Jesus)	(Jesus)	(Jesus)	[*see below*]
34	our Lord	our Lord	our Lord	(‘*The Lord is risen indeed*’)
S. JOHN				
iv 1	(⌜our Lord⌝)	Jesus	Jesus	ΙC ℵ D Λ 1 &c. 22 565 al^{20} latt ΚC Ϛ A B rell *f q*
vi 23	*illegible*	(*om. clause*)	Jesus	*om. clause* D 69* *a e*
xi 2	*illegible*	—	Jesus	
xx 2	our Lord	—	our Lord	(*said to Peter and John*)
13	my Lord	—	my Lord	(*said to the angels*)
18	our Lord	—	our Lord	(*said to disciples*)
20	*om.*	—	our Lord	
25	our Lord	—	our Lord	(*said to Thomas*)
xxi 7^{a}	our Lord	—	our Lord	(*said to Peter*)
7^{b}	our Lord	—	our Lord	(*repetition*)
12	*om.*	—	our Lord	

In the above list I have not included Lk vii 31, for almost all Greek and Latin authorities omit the clause εἶπε δὲ ὁ κύριος. In Lk v 17 δύναμις κυρίου ἦν is taken by *S* to mean ‘the power was in *Jesus*,’ so that the verse has to be added to the list of passages where the translator of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* understood κύριος to be used in narrative in the sense of ‘our Lord.’ But no other authority has ‘Jesus’ here. Lk xxiv 3 also might perhaps have been placed by itself. Most authorities read ‘the body of the Lord Jesus’: D *a b e ff l r* omit ‘of the Lord Jesus,’ while a Greek minuscule, *f*, and the Sahidic, omit ‘the Lord.’ It is evident that the Syriac versions do not attest the longer reading, but a glance at this Table will, I think, be enough to shew that we cannot determine whether they attest τοῦ κυρίου without Ἰησοῦ, or τοῦ Ἰησοῦ without κυρίου. In Joh iv 1 the reading of *S* is marked illegible, but as the passage comes within one of the sections in which ‘our Lord’ is regularly used for Ἰησοῦς, there can be no doubt that *S* has ܡܪܢ here.

It must further be noticed that Ephraim (*Moes.* 98) supports *S* against *C* and the Peshitta by having ‘Jesus’ in Lk x 39.

The main question in dispute is whether *S* or *C* most accurately represents the original text of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* in the matter of these Proper Names. *S* is consistent with itself. The only occurrences of 'our Lord' where the Greek has κύριος are in reported sayings of the disciples, all as a matter of fact after the Resurrection, and such that 'Jesus' would be inappropriate in them. Even if a revising pen was running through the text changing ܡܪܝܐ into ܝܫܘܥ, these passages would remain untouched. In other places it seems to me likely that *S* has ܝܫܘܥ in the text, because the MS from which the original *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* was made had Ἰησοῦς and not κύριος, e.g. in Lk vii 13 and xiii 15. But it is a little difficult to suppose that ὁ κύριος in narrative was never rendered 'our Lord' by the translator of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*, seeing that it is so rendered in such passages as Lk xxiv 34.

On the other hand *C* does not give a consistent text. We cannot simply take it as faithfully representing in this particular the original form of the version, for we must account for the renderings in Lk ix 39 and xii 42, where *S* and syr.vg practically alone agree in having 'Jesus.' Such passages shew that this use of the personal name is a real feature of the version, not a peculiarity of *S*. Moreover we must remember that in other parts of the Gospels *S* has 'our Lord' where all other texts have 'Jesus.'

Further discussion would be probably fruitless and would certainly be wearisome. My provisional conclusions are:—

(1) The original form of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* had ܝܫܘܥ for ὁ Ἰησοῦς and ܡܪܝܐ for ὁ κύριος, but the latter term less frequently occurred in the Greek MS used by the translator than in the majority of our MSS.

(2) At a later period ܡܪܝܐ was generally substituted for ܝܫܘܥ in one of the immediate ancestors of *S*, without regard for the Greek.

(3) At a still later date ܝܫܘܥ was restored, but certain sections in S. Matthew and S. John were passed over, together with a few places here and there (Lk viii 40, Joh xi 44, xii 16), where ܡܪܝܐ was left by accident. The correction was *not* made by the help of a Greek codex, consequently in the narrative passages such as Lk xvii 5, xviii 6, xxii 61^{b}, where 'our Lord' should have been left, it was nevertheless changed into 'Jesus.' In all this *S* shews no sign of revision from the Greek.

(4) The Peshitta, as is clear from other considerations, is a revision of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* by the help of a later Greek MS: it was no doubt by the help of the Greek that 'in Jesus' (*or*, 'in our Lord') was changed in Lk v 17 into 'of the LORD.' But where ὁ κύριος simply meant 'Christ' the reviser of the Peshitta does not seem to have thought it worth while to change the transmitted Syriac text: in this respect it is not unlikely that the Peshitta gives a better representation of the genuine text of the 'Old Syriac' than either *S* or *C*.

(5) The occurrence of 'Jesus' in the Peshitta in such passages as Lk xi 39, xii 43, convicts *C* of partial revision from the Greek. In these passages if the reading of *C* truly represented the original form of the 'Old Syriac,' it would be difficult to understand how the Syriac Vulgate came to have ܝܫܘܥ and not ܡܪܝܐ.

CHAPTER III.

THE PESHITTA NEW TESTAMENT AND ITS RIVALS.

The great antiquity of the Syriac Version of the Old Testament that goes by the name of the Peshitta is acknowledged on all hands. It is a version made direct from the Hebrew, not from the Greek, and the quotations and allusions in our earliest Syriac authorities practically agree with the text as we have it. It has even been conjectured that the version was the work of Jewish scholars in the 2nd century AD, and in any case its renderings often shew the influence of Jewish tradition and exegesis. In the course of a long history it has doubtless suffered a little from the usual incidents of transmission, but—to name a single instance—the whole of the 9th chapter of Daniel is quoted by Aphraates (*Wright* 368 ff), and the text as there quoted does not seriously differ from that printed by Lee, though Lee's edition is notoriously based upon late and bad MSS.

But the case of the New Testament Peshitta is very different. In the Old Testament the Syriac vulgate had no rivals till the sixth century; in the New Testament we have to reckon with the Diatessaron and the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. It is, I am convinced, a fruitless endeavour to attempt to reconstruct the history of the Gospel in Syriac from internal evidence alone, and the direct traditions as to the recensions and revisions made in these early times are too vague and scanty to start from. I propose therefore in the following pages to examine whether any evidence for the existence of the Peshitta N.T. before the episcopate of Rabbula (AD 411–435) can be gleaned from the contemporary Syriac literature.

The order of the writings examined is that in which they are mentioned in Wright's *Syriac Literature*, pp. 25–49.

The Acts of Judas Thomas (*Wright* 26).

The numerous N.T. 'Apocrypha' briefly catalogued by Wright are almost all translations of uncertain age from the Greek and need not detain us here. But the *Acts of Thomas*, which occurs among them, is a very different work and needs our careful attention. It is a work written originally in Syriac, as I hope is now generally recognised[1]. The arguments which shew that the Greek *Acta* are a translation from the Syriac are partly linguistic, such as misrenderings and misreadings of Syriac words in the existing Greek texts, and partly general considerations derived from the Oriental cast of the proper names and from the metrical structure of certain Hymns which occur in the work. In other words, the theory that the *Acts of Thomas* were originally composed in Syriac is independent of the character of the incidental quotations from the Gospel.

But if the *Acts of Thomas* be a Syriac work, it can be shewn that the incidental quotations are taken from the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, in contradistinction both to the Diatessaron and to the Peshitta.

The Quotations in the Acts of Thomas not taken from the Diatessaron.

Although we are often in doubt as to the Syriac text of Tatian's Harmony, the surviving authorities are sufficient for us to ascertain the arrangement of the Parables[2]. We thus learn that the Parables of the Pounds (Lk xix 12–27) and of the Talents (Matt xxv 14–30) were given separately in different parts of the Diatessaron, but the Parables of the Marriage-Feast (Matt xxii 1–14) and of the Supper (Lk xiv 16–24) were fused together into one. In consequence of this the writers who habitually used the Diatessaron could not keep these last two Parables distinct. For example, the references of Aphraates to the Parables of the Pounds and of the Talents are separated by an allusion to the Labourers in the Vineyard[3]. But when he has occasion to speak of the Wedding-garment, a detail peculiar to Matt xxii, he mixes it up with expressions taken from Lk xiv. He says

[1] See the present writer's Notes in the *Journal of Theological Studies* i 280–290, ii 429, iii 94.

[2] See the list in *Hamlyn Hill*, Ap. v, p. 319.

[3] Wright's *Aphraates*, pp. 171, 172.

"Let us be clad in holy clothing and we shall be seated at the head of the chosen. Him that is not clad in clothing for the Wedding they cast forth into the outer darkness. He that *excuseth himself* from the Wedding *tasteth not of the Supper.* He that loveth fields and merchandise defraudeth himself of the city of the holy ones[1]."

The italicised words come ultimately from S. Luke.

Of course this running together of the two parables does not absolutely prove that Aphraates was entirely dependent on the Diatessaron, but the quotation given above is just such a fusion of the two Gospels as a writer who used the Diatessaron might be expected to make.

Now let us turn to the *Acts of Thomas.* Towards the end of the Acts, in the great discourse of S. Thomas in the prison, there is a whole series of allusions to the Gospel Parables. I give the most important passage in full :—

ܟܣܦܐ ܕܝܗܒܬ ܠܝ ܫܕܝܬ ܥܠ ܡܕܒܚܟ: ܒܥܐ ܘܗܒ ܠܝ ܒܪܒܝܬܗ ܟܡܐ ܕܐܡܪܬ.
ܕܕܗܒܬ ܥܠ ܡܕܒܚܟ. ܒܥܐ ܕܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܝ ܥܡ ܒܪܒܝܬܗ. ܒܥܐ ܕܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܝ.
ܕܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܝ ܥܡ ܒܪܒܝܬܗ. ܠܐ ܫܒܩܬ ܟܝ ܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܝ. ܒܥܐ ܕܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܝ.
ܕܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܝ ܥܡ ܒܪܒܝܬܗ. ܡܢ ܕܢܫܒܩ ܡܢ ܕܢܫܒܩ ܠܝ. ܒܥܐ ܕܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܝ
ܕܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܝ ܥܡ ܒܪܒܝܬܗ. ܕܐܬܩܛܪܓ ܠܝ ܐܠܦܝ. ܠܐ ܫܒܩ ܠܝ.

fasten my hands and my feet, and to the outer darkness may I not go forth [Matt xxii 11, 8, 12, 13]. *My Lamp, gay with His light, hath its Lord preserved; until He withdraweth from the Wedding-feast and I receive Him* [Lk xii 35, 36], *may I not see it smouldering from its oil* [*cf.* Matt xii 20]...[1].

This one passage contains in itself all the elements of the problem. It is manifestly the composition of an Aramaic-speaking Christian, for it is only in the Syriac that the smoking 'flax' becomes a 'lamp[2].' It is the work of one who knew the Gospels well independently of the Diatessaron, for the Supper and the Wedding are kept distinct. In strict accordance with the Gospels, but against the Diatessaron, the excuses of the invited guests about the field and the wife are connected with the Supper, as well as the vow of the offended host[3]; on the other hand, the episode of the garment and the ejected guest is kept in connexion with the Wedding. Moreover the order in which the Parables are referred to is not that of the Diatessaron: one suggests the other through some verbal likeness, the ten Pounds of Lk xix suggesting the one Pound of Matt xviii[4]. Finally we have in ܐܫܬܩ 'to withdraw' a rendering of *ἀναλύσῃ* (Lk xii 36), which is characteristic of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* as opposed to the Syriac Vulgate.

But this is anticipating. What we are concerned with now is that the passage here quoted from the Acts of Thomas could not have been derived from the Diatessaron.

A curious confirmation of the above argument is to be found in an allusion to our Lord's Temptation in *Thos* 256, where we read that "Temperance is the rest of God, for our Lord fasted forty days and forty nights and tasted nothing." This is a free combination of Matt iv 2 and Lk iv 2: the same combination occurs in the Arabic *Diatessaron* iv 44, and at first sight we might be tempted to take the passage in *Thos* 256 as a quotation of Tatian's Harmony. What renders this view

[1] Wright's *Apocryphal Acts*, pp. ܥܕ 17—ܥܘ 8 (Engl. Tr., pp. 280, 281). I have given here my own translation, as minute literal accuracy is important for the present purpose. In the clause referring to Lk xii 35, 36, I take ܢܫܬ as perf. *Pael* not as imperf. *Peal*, so that no copula is required before ܕܐ ܕܠܐ.

[2] This rendering of Matt xii 20, found in syr.vg as well as *S* and *C*, may have been suggested by the Peshitta of Isaiah xlii 3.

[3] The 'Amen I say to you' of Lk xix 24 is regarded as the equivalent of an oath.

[4] The equation of 100 Denars to one Pound is not far wrong. Wright's rendering is 'talent,' but the Syriac has ܡܢܐ (=*μνᾶ*), not ܟܟܪ (=*τάλαντον*).

unlikely is that the 'forty nights' of Matt iv 2 seem to have been absent from the Diatessaron. They are passed over by Ephraim (*Moes.* 44), and are actually omitted from the text of S. Matthew in *C*. Any allusion to the forty nights therefore is almost certainly inconsistent with the use of the Diatessaron. The presence of the clause ܘܠܐ ܐܟܠ ܒܝܘܡܝܢ in these *Acts* may fairly be used to convict the Sinai Palimpsest itself of corruption from the Diatessaron in Lk iv 2. For in the place of καὶ οὐκ ἔφαγεν οὐδὲν κ.τ.λ. *S* has 'And he was there forty days, and after forty days that he was fasting, he hungered': this agrees with the Diatessaron as given in *Moesinger* 44, except that S. Ephraim does not quote the first clause[1].

Then again the list of the Apostles at the beginning of the Acts of Thomas tallies exactly with that of *S* in Matt x 2–4, but with no other authority[2]. The nearest after *S* is the Syriac fragment quoted by Dr Goussen from the Berlin MS of Isho'dad (ap. *Harris* 101), which expressly professes to give the list according to the Diatessaron. This interesting text has the same order as *S* and *Thos*, but it adds the name 'Lebbaia' to James son of Halphaeus[3]. The Arabic *Diatessaron* and Cod. Fuldensis give us the order of S. Luke.

The Quotations in the Acts of Thomas not taken from the Peshitta.

The reader will have already noticed that some of the phrases quoted above shew a marked agreement with *S* and *C* against syr.vg. The use of ܐܦܠ 'to withdraw (from an entertainment),' where the Peshitta of Lk xii 36 has ܬܘܒ 'to return,' is a striking instance. Equally characteristic of *S C* is the mention of 'stubborn infirmities' in *Thos* 230 (ܚܠܫܐ ܣܓܝܐܐ), for the Peshitta of Matt iv 24 renders ποικίλαις νόσοις by 'divers infirmities' (ܟܣܝܢ ܣܓܝܐܐ).

But the agreement of the Acts of Thomas with the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* is not confined to these relatively small points. In *Thos* 313 (Engl. Tr., p. 279) the Lord's Prayer is quoted in full, in agreement with *C* (and *S* where extant), but with marked differences from syr.vg. I give the three texts side by side (Matt vi 9–13):

[1] Note that the text of *Thos* 256 is not taken from syr.vg, which has ܘܠܐ ܐܟܠ ܒܝܘܡܝܢ in Lk iv 2.

[2] *C* is not extant at this point.

[3] The MS has ܠܒܝ ܕܐܦ ܠܒܝ ܕܚܡܬ. It is doubtful whether the word is meant for Λεββαῖος (ܠܒܝ), or Λευεὶς (ܠܘܝ), or Λευής.

C (S)	*Thos* 313	*Peshitta*
ܐܒܐ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ	ܐܒܐ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ	ܐܒܐ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ
ܢܬܩܕܫ ܫܡܟ.	ܢܬܩܕܫ ܫܡܟ.	ܢܬܩܕܫ ܫܡܟ.
¶ ܬܐܬܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܟ.	ܬܐܬܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܟ.	ܬܐܬܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܟ.
ܗܘܐ ܨܒܝܢܟ	ܗܘܐ ܨܒܝܢܟ	ܗܘܐ ܨܒܝܢܟ
ܐܝܟ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ ܐܦ ܒܐܪܥܐ.	ܐܝܟ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ ܐܦ ܒܐܪܥܐ.	ܐܝܟ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ ܐܦ ܒܐܪܥܐ.
ܠܚܡ ܕܣܢܝܘܬܢ ܗܒ ܠܢ ܝܘܡܢ.	ܠܚܡ ܕܣܢܝܘܬܢ ܗܒ ܠܢ ܝܘܡܢ.	ܠܚܡ ܕܣܢܝܘܬܢ ܗܒ ܠܢ ܝܘܡܢ.
ܘܫܒܘ ܠܢ ܚܘܒܝܢ ܕܐܦ ܚܢܢ ܫܒܩܢ ܠܚܝܒܝܢ.	ܘܫܒܘ ܠܢ ܚܘܒܝܢ ܕܐܦ ܚܢܢ ܫܒܩܢ ܠܚܝܒܝܢ.	ܘܫܒܘ ܠܢ ܚܘܒܝܢ ܕܐܦ ܚܢܢ ܫܒܩܢ ܠܚܝܒܝܢ.
ܘܠܐ ܥܠ ܡܥܒܕ ܠܢ ܠܢܣܝܘܢ.	ܘܠܐ ܥܠ ܡܥܒܕ ܠܢ ܠܢܣܝܘܢ.	ܘܠܐ ܥܠ ܡܥܒܕ ܠܢ ܠܢܣܝܘܢ.
ܐܠܐ ܦܨܢ ܡܢ ܒܝܫܐ.	ܐܠܐ ܦܨܢ ܡܢ ܒܝܫܐ.	ܐܠܐ ܦܨܢ ܡܢ ܒܝܫܐ.
ܡܪܝ ܢܫܠܡ ܠܟ	ܡܪܝ ܢܫܠܡ ܠܟ	ܡܪܝ ܢܫܠܡ ܠܟ
ܕܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܫܐܠܬ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܐܒܘܟ ܒܫܡܝ ܢܬܝܗܒ ܠܟ.	ܕܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܫܐܠܬ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܐܒܘܟ ܒܫܡܝ ܢܬܝܗܒ ܠܟ.	ܕܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܫܐܠܬ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܐܒܘܟ ܒܫܡܝ ܢܬܝܗܒ ܠܟ.
ܠܚܡ ܚܘܒܝܢ ܫܒܘ ܠܢ ܝܬ ܠܟ.	ܠܚܡ ܚܘܒܝܢ ܫܒܘ ܠܢ ܝܬ ܠܟ.	ܠܚܡ ܚܘܒܝܢ ܫܒܘ ܠܢ ܝܬ ܠܟ.

ܐܒܐ *S: the rest of the Prayer in* Matt *is not extant in S through the loss of a page*

Variants of c *(Cambridge Univ. Libr. Add. 2822) and of* s *(the Sinai fragments)*

ܐܒܐ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ s ܢܬܩܕܫ ܫܡܟ c] *om.* cs ¶ ܬܐܬܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܟ c] *pr.* ܗܘܐ ܨܒܝܢܟ c ; s *illegible*

The text of the Sinai Fragments is printed in Studia Sinaitica ix, pp. 30, 31.

The Cambridge MS is a copy of the abridged text of the *Acts of Thomas* preserved in the Sachau MS at Berlin and partly collated by Bedjan. Its peculiarities here are all verbal assimilations to the Peshitta, such as one might expect in a late transcript. On the other hand the Sinai fragments here attest all the remarkable readings of Wright's text.

The extracts hardly need a commentary: in every point the *Acts* and *C* agree together against the Peshitta and the Greek. They read 'Thy wishes be done,' in the plural. They have 'In earth as it is in heaven,' while the Peshitta has in the Greek order 'As in heaven so in earth[1].' For *τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον* they have 'continual bread,' while the Peshitta has 'the bread of our necessity.' They read 'so that we may forgive'; the Peshitta has 'as we have forgiven.' Finally they read 'bring us not,' where the Peshitta rendering is 'make us not enter[2].'

It is surely unnecessary to pursue this part of the investigation further. So far from finding any evidence that the Peshitta was known to the author of the *Acts of Thomas* we have found his quotations in marked agreement with its rivals, while at the same time there is decisive evidence that the quotations are not derived from the Diatessaron. We shall not find elsewhere such clear traces of the use of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, so that the point is of great historical importance. Meanwhile it must be remembered that we have hitherto brought forward no evidence as to whether the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* was originally translated in the circles that produced the *Acts of Thomas*, or whether it merely found a home there when other branches of Syriac-speaking Christianity were using Tatian's Harmony[3].

[1] A curiously exact parallel to the variation between the Authorised and Revised Versions at this point!

[2] The reading ܚܛܗܝܢ ܘܚܘܒܝܢ *our debts and our sins* is not that of the Diatessaron: at least Aphraates twice quotes the verse with ܚܛܗܝܢ alone. The combination of Matt and Lk reappears in Jacob of Serug's Homily on the Lord's Prayer, and curiously enough it finds a place in Teseo Ambrogio's miscellany (G. H. Gwilliam in *Studia Biblica* ii, p. 268).

[3] Before leaving the Apocryphal Acts, I should like to record my opinion that the work called the *Acts of Philip*, printed by Wright, is also a Syriac original, and that the author of them used the Diatessaron. Wright's MS is late (1569 AD), and the quotations present the same sort of assimilation to syr.vg that we have noticed in the Cambridge transcript of the *Acts of Thomas*. But in ܐܝܠ ܕܟ ܕܡܐ (p. ܓܟ 3) we have an echo of the cry of woe added to Lk xxiii 48 in all 'Old Syriac' authorities, and again on p. ܟ ܒ 5 we find the phrase ܕܟ ܠܠ ܕܟ, *cheek for cheek*, introducing Matt v 39 just as in S. Ephraim's Commentary (*Moes.* 65, 133). This phrase is ultimately derived from the Syriac of Exod xxi 25, but it seems to have stood in some texts of the Diatessaron. There is a 13th cent. MS of the *Acts of Philip* at Paris (*Zotenberg* 235).

The Syriac Doctrina Apostolorum (*Wright* 27).

This document is the only work of its kind which has a Syriac origin. It has been published by Cureton in *Ancient Syriac Documents* ܐ—ܡ (Engl. Tr., pp. 24–35) from a MS of the 5th or 6th cent. It had previously been printed as the 'Doctrine of Addai' in Lagarde's *Reliquiae Juris Eccl. Antiq.*, pp. 32–44, from an inferior MS of the 9th cent.

The quotations from the Gospel are as follows:

1. A.S.D. ܒܙ = Matt xxiv 27.

ܐܝܟ ܕܒܪܩ ܒܪܩܐ ܡܢ ܡܕܢܚܐ ܘܙܗܪ ܥܕ ܡܕܢܚܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ ܒܥܢܢܐ.

Variants of S and syr.vg

init.] ܕܢܦܩ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܡܕܪܟܝ *S*; ܕܢܦܩ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܡܕܪܟܝ syr.vg

ܡܕܪܟ *Reliq* (sic)

Thus the *Doctrina Apost.* agrees with *S* in reading ܕܢܦܩ (*cf* ἀστράπτουσα Lk xvii 24), while syr.vg has ܢܦܩ (= ἐξέρχεται Matt xxiv 27). But it is in still closer accord with Ephraim's Commentary (*Moes.* 211), which has *As the lightning that lighteneth...*

2. A.S.D. ܟܒ = Lk xvi 15^{b}.

Quoted in agreement with *S* and syr.vg.

3. A.S.D. ܠܓ = Matt xxviii 20.

ܘܗܐ ܥܡܟܘܢ ܟܠ ܝܘܡܐ ܕܟܠ ܥܠܡܐ

Variants of A 120, 484 *and* syr.vg

ܥܡܟܘܢ] *pr.* ܐܢܐ ܗܘ syr.vg ܟܠ] *pr.* ܟܠ ܝܘܡܐ ܥܠܡܐ syr.vg

ܟܠ ܝܘܡܐ ܥܠܡ] *so also A* 120: ܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ syr.vg *A* 484 (*and Reliq*)

S is not extant, but of the two quotations from Aphraates one agrees word for word with the *Doctrina Apost.*, while the other (though agreeing in the two characteristic omissions) follows syr.vg and the Greek in the final clause[1].

[1] It may be conjectured that *A* 120 gives the text of the Diatessaron, *A* 484 that of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe.*

4. A.S.D. ܠܒ, *cf* Lk x 1.

Addai, the evangelist of Edessa, is here said to have been one of the 72 disciples. In Lk x 1 *S C* read 72, but syr.vg reads 70.

The MS from which Lagarde printed the *Reliquiae* has here again been conformed to syr.vg.

5. A.S.D. ܠ, *cf* Joh xiv 26.

ܠܗܘܢ ܟܬ ܫܦܝܪ ܡܢ ܪܘܚܐ ܕܦܪܩܠܛܐ ܕܗܘ ܒܗܘܢ. ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܬܩܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܐܝܕ ܗܠܝܢ ܢܡܘܣܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܠܝ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܗܘܢ ܕܝܢ ܕܢܗܘܢ ܡܢܗܓܢܝܢ.

For to them [sc. the Apostles] *sufficient was the Spirit, the Paraclete that was in them, that, as it appointed by their hand these laws, it should lead them lawfully.*

Here the Paraclete is feminine, to agree with Spirit, as in Joh xiv 26 *S C*, but not of course in syr.vg. In the *Reliquiae* (pp. 38, 39) the feminines have all been changed into masculines, as we might have expected.

Earlier in the *Doctrina Apostolorum* (A.S.D. ܡܒ, *Reliquiae* p. 34) the verse is alluded to with the masculine pronouns and verbs.

ܟܕ ܐܣܠܩ ܐܢܐ ܠܘܬ ܐܒܝ ܐܫܕܪ ܐܢܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܪܘܚܐ ܕܦܪܩܠܛܐ ܕܡܠܦ ܠܟܘܢ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܫܦܝܪ ܗܘ ܠܟܘܢ ܕܬܕܥܘܢ ܘܬܐܡܪܘܢ ܠܟܘܢ.

What time I have ascended unto my Father, I will send you the Spirit, the Paraclete, who will teach you everything that it is right for you to know and to make known.

Though the genders are here masculine the characteristic phrase "the Spirit, the Paraclete" recurs. It is found in Joh xiv 26 *S*, the first part of the verse being lost in *C*. But syr.vg has "the Paraclete, the Holy Spirit," with the Greek.

The *Doctrina Apostolorum* speaks elsewhere of Luke and John as *Evangelists*, and of Mark the Gospeller (ܡܪܩܘܣ). But there is no express direction to read their Gospels: though the Acts are expressly assigned to S. Luke, the Gospel is always spoken of impersonally in the singular and no author is ever named for it. It is therefore almost certain that the coincidences with *S C* against the Peshitta noted above imply the use of the Diatessaron.

Aphraates (*Wright* 31–33).

The surviving works of the school of Bardesanes supply nothing for our present purpose, unless indeed we include among them the *Acts of Thomas*[1]. We therefore come to the *Homilies* of Aphraates, composed in the years 337, 344, and 345 AD. The numerous quotations from the Gospel in these Homilies are given in their place in vol. i, so that it is unnecessary for me to go through them here in full. I need only point out that the striking coincidences between the language of Aphraates in quoting the Gospel with the text of *S* and of *C* are not balanced by agreements of like weight between Aphraates and syr.vg.

The following remarkable agreements of Aphraates' quotations with *S* or *C* against the Peshitta may be here brought forward:—

Matt ii 20 seeking the lad's life: *A* 405 and *C* (not *S*) add *to snatch away.*

v 18 ἰῶτα ἓν ἢ μία κεραία: *A* 30 and *S* (*C*) have *one Jod-letter*, *C* further adding by conflation *or one horn.*

vi 19 where moth and rust doth corrupt: *A* 389 and *C* have *where the moth falleth and corrupteth.*

Lk vi 24 your consolation: *A* 390 and *S* (*sic*) have *your supplication*, an alternative rendering of τὴν παράκλησιν ὑμῶν.

xii 19 and I will say to my soul: *A* 381 and *C* (not *S*) have *and he saith to his soul.*

xix 44 the day of thy visitation: *A* 412 and *C* (not *S*) have *the day of thy greatness.*

xxii 43 in Paradise: *A* 266, 437, and *C* (not *S*) have *in the Garden of Eden.*

48: *A* 271 has the words *Woe to us! What hath befallen us!* which are added at the end of this verse in *S* and *C.*

Joh i 14: *A* 120, 167, and *C* have *The Word* (fem.) *became a body and it sojourned among us*[2].

[1] Cf the Mechitarists' Latin translation of S. Ephraim's *Commentary* on the Pauline Epp., p. 119.

[2] Or, '*in us.*' The Peshitta has the same verb and preposition, but the Word is treated as masc. and σάρξ is rendered '*flesh*' instead of '*body.*' *S* is not extant.

There are very few coincidences in Aphraates with syr.vg against *S C* united. An instance is to be found in Matt v 16, where *A* 14 has 'your *good* (ܛܒܐ) works' with syr.vg, while *S C* have 'your *fair* (ܫܦܝܪ) works.' But this distribution of the evidence is almost isolated. On the other hand the combination of Aphraates with *S* and syr.vg against *C*, or Aphraates with *C* and syr.vg against *S*, is often found. But this does no more to prove the use of the Peshitta by Aphraates than the occasional agreement of 'African' authorities with the Latin Vulgate proves that S. Cyprian was acquainted with S. Jerome's revision[1]. Such a grouping as *S A* syr.vg against *C* (as in Matt v 15) means that the Peshitta text has here followed that branch of the 'Old Syriac' now represented by *S*, and not that branch now represented by *C*.

A more interesting class of variants is well illustrated by the Syriac texts of Matt v 44.

Aphraates 34, 35

ܐܫܒܩ ܠܚܕ̈ܝܢ ܘܒܪܟ ܠܚ̈ܪ̈ܦ̈ܝܢ.
ܘܨܠ ܥܠ ܟ̈ܠ ܒܥ̈ܠ ܕܝܢ.
ܕܝ ܠܗ̈ܘ ܕܒ̈ܥ̈ܠ ܕܝܢ ܠܥ̈ܠ ܠܗ̈ܘ ܒ̈ܥ̈ܠ ܕܝܢ ܘܠ ܥ̈ܠ ܠܗ̈ܘ ܕܝ ܠ̈ܗ̈ܘ ܕܝ ܠ̈ܗ̈ܘ ܕ̈ܝ ܠ̈ܗ̈ܘ ܕ̈ܝ ܠ̈ܗ̈ܘ ܕ̈

to τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς is in the Peshitta ܕܡܫܬܡܢ ܠܟܘܢ ܕܡܫܢܝ (as in Matt), while in *S* we find ܕܡܥܩܪܝ ܠܟܘܢ i.e. 'that oppress you.' The text of Aphraates therefore is not derived from the Peshitta nor from the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*: if we exclude the improbable supposition that it was derived by direct revision from the Greek, we must assume that it faithfully represents the original text of the Diatessaron.

In this passage then the three Syriac texts are for once clearly distinguished by their independent renderings of ἐπηρεάζειν[1]. Difference of rendering implies the use of different Greek exemplars: here at least neither of the three Syriac texts can have been derived directly from the other. It is of course hazardous to maintain with any confidence that the ancient Diatessaron of Tatian really attests the longer form of Matt v 44, for in a Harmony constructed out of all the Gospels the apparent deficiency of Matt would naturally be supplied from Lk. What is of greater importance for the immediate question, *viz.* the use of the Peshitta in early Syriac writings, is that mere agreement with Greek readings attested by syr.vg against *S C* is not always a decisive proof of the use of syr.vg. In the present instance Aphraates and the Peshitta have words corresponding to τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς while *S C* have none, but the grave differences of rendering between the two texts shew that Aphraates is not dependent upon the Peshitta.

Similarly in Matt x 5 εἰς ὁδὸν ἐθνῶν is rendered 'In the way of the peoples (ܕܥܡܡܐ)' by *S*, but we find 'In the way of the pagans (ܕܫܘܒܝ)' in syr.vg and *A* 42. Yet nothing about the quotations of Aphraates is more certain than that the long string of allusions on pp. 41, 42 are taken from the Diatessaron, not from the Gospels[2]: here again, therefore, the agreement with syr.vg does not imply the dependence of Aphraates. These results should be borne in mind when we are considering some of the quotations in S. Ephraim, notably the combination of Lk xii 54 and Matt xvi 2, 3.

[1] The reading of A^a (ܕܡܫܬܡܫܝ) looks like a corruption of ܕܡܫܬܡܢ under the influence of the ܕܡܫܢܝ of syr.vg.

[2] See next chapter, p. 181.

S. Ephraim (*Wright* 33–37).

The surviving works of S. Ephraim, commonly called Ephrem Syrus, are considerably more voluminous than all the rest of pre-Rabbulan Syriac literature, and till lately they have been the rallying ground of those who claimed a very high antiquity for the Peshitta N.T. The importance of his quotations for the history of the Syriac Bible led me to make a special study of the MS sources of the works which have been printed as his. This has been published in the Cambridge 'Texts and Studies' under the title of *S. Ephraim's Quotations from the Gospel* (Cambridge, 1901), and the favourable way in which the little book has been received, both in this country and in Germany, saves me from the necessity of clearing the ground again. I shall therefore confine myself here to the quotations from the genuine works of S. Ephraim, as given in my book, together with those from Dr Lamy's fourth volume since published. I cite my book by its pages as '*Quotations.*'

The Genuine Writings of S. Ephraim ('*Quotations*' 23 ff.).

The following list of genuine works by S. Ephraim has been drawn up on the principle of admitting only those which are extant in MSS earlier than the Mohammedan invasions. A mechanical rule such as this no doubt excludes some genuine writings, but the list at least escapes the charge of having been constructed to suit a pre-determined critical theory.

The Commentary on the *Diatessaron*—an undoubtedly genuine work—has not been included, because it is only extant in an Armenian translation. Besides, we may regard this Commentary as being, so to speak, on its trial. We know that S. Ephraim wrote a Commentary on the Diatessaron, while on the other hand there is absolutely no evidence which even suggests that he wrote upon any of the separate Four Gospels. It is therefore the Diatessaron, and not the Four Gospels, which we should naturally expect to find quoted in his genuine works. Yet it has been actually asserted (*Studia Biblica* iii, p. 115) that very few of S. Ephraim's quotations accord with the Diatessaron where

they differ from the Peshitta! No more striking instance could be given of the result of trusting to uncritical editions in matters of textual criticism.

List of the Genuine Writings of S. Ephraim.

PROSE WRITINGS:

(1) The Commentary on Genesis and Exodus[1]	*Ed. Rom.* iv 1—115, 194—235
(2) The Homily on our Lord	*Lamy* i 145—274, ii pp. xxi—xxiii
(3) The fragments of the Homily on Joh i 1	*Lamy* ii 511—516
(4) The fragments of the Treatises addressed to Hypatius against False Doctrines[2]	*Overbeck* 21—73
(5) On the Fear of God, or *De Misericordia Divina*	„ 105—112
(6) Letter to the Monks in the Mountains	„ 113—131
[(7) Letter to Publius	B.M. Add. 7190 (‘*Quotations*,’ p. 70)]

METRICAL WORKS (including both “Hymns” and “Homilies”):

(1) ‘*Sermones Exegetici*’ on Adam, etc.	*Ed. Rom.* v 318 C—330
(2) „ on Jonah	„ v 359 D—387 A
(3) *De Nativitate* XIII (see below, no. 20)	„ v 396—436
(4) *Sermones Polemici* LVI	„ v 437 *ad fin.*
(5) *De Fide adv. Scrutatores* LXXXVII	„ vi 1—164
(6) *De Libero Voluntatis Arbitrio* IV	„ vi 359 A—366
(7) ‘*Paraenetica*,’ no. I	„ vi 367—369 B
(8) „ no. XX	„ vi 450 D—451 F
(9) „ nos. LXXV, LXXVI	„ vi 555 F—561
(10) *De Paradiso Eden* (see below, no. 15)	„ vi 562—598
(11) ‘*De Diversis Sermones*,’ no. II	„ vi 603—604 E
(12) „ no. IV—XII	„ vi 608 C—629 B
(13) „ no. XVIII	„ vi 654 F *ad fin.*
(14) On Julian the Apostate	*Overbeck* 3—20
(15) *De Paradiso Eden* (supplement to no. 10)	„ 339—354
(16) The *Carmina Nisibena* (see below, no. 19)	*Bickell's Edition*
(17) *Hymni Azymorum*	*Lamy* i 567—636
(18) „ *De Crucifixione*	„ i 637—714

[1] The text in the Roman Edition must of course be corrected by Pohlmann's collations (*Journ. of Theol. Studies* i 570).

[2] The *Commentarii* (ܦܘܫܩܐ), edited as Ephraim's by Overbeck, pp. 74–104, are intentionally omitted from this List.

(19) *Sermo de Reprehensione* I[1]	*Lamy* ii 332—362
(20) *Hymni de Nativitate* (supplement to no. 3)	„ ii 501—510
(21) Hymns on Fasting, Virginity, etc.	„ ii 647—678, 685—694, 718—814
(22) *Sermones Rogationum*, nos. III, V—X	„ iii 37—44, 65—114
(23) Hymns on the Confessors	„ iii 643—696
(24) „ on Abraham Kidunaya and on Julian Saba	„ iii 741—936
(25) Hymns *de Ecclesia et Virginitate*	„ iv 497—670
[(26) Hymns on the Epiphany	„ i 5—144 (*'Quotations,'* p. 67)]
[(27) Hymns *de Virginitate*, etc.	„ ii 773—824 (*'Quotations,'* p. 69)]
[(28) *Sermones Rogationum*	„ iii 3—126, iv 367—454 (*'Quotations,'* p. 69)]
[(29) The Testament of Ephraim	*Overbeck, Duval*]

This may not be a complete list of the genuine extant works of S. Ephraim, but there can be little doubt that all those which are included are genuine. Each of them [except Nos. 7, 26–29,] is attested by at least one MS not later than the 7th century, and several are found in two MSS of the 5th or 6th century. Together they make up a very considerable mass of writing, certainly enough to settle the question whether S. Ephraim used the Peshitta text of the Gospels. It is, to say the least, exceedingly improbable that works which are assigned in later MSS to S. Ephraim should, if genuine, present a different type of text in the Biblical quotations and allusions from that found in these 350 separate poems, not to speak of the many pages of prose.

Examination of S. Ephraim's Quotations (*'Quotations'* 28–57, 67–72).

[Matt iii 16 = *Lamy* i 127 (*'Quotations'* 67 ff.)

حدر مدبر مدسر مدلم. مدلم مدمم حل حلحر.

The Holy one was baptized and immediately came up, and His light flamed upon the world.

[1] This discourse (حلحر حدر حلي لر) appears to me to be one of the missing numbers of the *Carmina Nisibena* (either xxii, xxiii, or xxiv). It deals with the abandonment of Nisibis to the Persians by Jovian in 363 AD. A verbose Greek paraphrase of this discourse is printed in *Ed. Rom.* i 40–70. The second *Sermo de Reprehensione* (*Lamy* ii 363–392) is not, as stated on col. 312, taken from a MS of the 5th or 6th century. It is written on the fly-leaves of B.M. Add. 12176 in a hand of about the 9th century. It contains no quotations from the N.T.

Neither the Peshitta nor the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* have any allusion to the Light at our Lord's Baptism, but it clearly had a place in the Diatessaron. Not only does Ephraim himself speak of 'the shining of the light which was on the waters' (*Moes.* 43), but the Syriac text of the Diatessaron itself was quoted by the common source of Isho'dad and Barsalibi for the sake of the addition. Barsalibi is still unedited, but the quotation from Isho'dad is given by Dr Harris in his *Fragments of the Commentary of Ephrem Syrus upon the Diatessaron.*

The passage from Barsalibi's Commentary on the Gospels runs as follows (B.M. Add 7184, *fol.* 37)

ܘܡܝܕ ܐܡܪ ܐܝܢܘܢ ܕܣܒ ܐܝܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܡܗܠܛܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܒܝܘܡ ܡܥܡܕܢܐ ܕܝܘܪܕܢܐ ܐܬܚܙܝ ܢܘܗܪܐ ܪܒܐ ܘܐܬܪܐ ܕܝܘܪܕܢ ܐܬܟܪܟ ܒܥܢܢܐ ܚܘܪܝܐ ܘܐܬܚܙܝ ܓܘܕܐ ܣܓܝܐ ܕܟܬܝܒܝ ܒܐܘܝܪܐ ܘܝܘܪܕܢ ܩܝܡ ܡܢ ܗܠܟܬܗ ܘܠܐ ܐܬܙܘܥ ܡܝܗ ܘܪܝܚܐ ܛܒܐ ܐܬܪܝܚ ܡܢܗ.

And immediately, as the Gospel of the Diatessaron (i.e. the Mixed) testifies, a mighty light flashed upon the Jordan and the river was girdled with white clouds, and there appeared his many hosts that were uttering praise in the air; and Jordan stood still from its flowing, though its waters were not troubled, and a pleasant odour therefrom was wafted.

Isho'dad gives this curious passage in almost the same words: it may be conjectured to have been taken from some early Hymn, perhaps one of S. Ephraim's own. Dr Harris remarks (p. 44): "It is not necessary to suppose that the whole of the extract...is from Tatian. Probably the quotation is contained in the first clause, or, at most, in the words

ܐܬܚܙܝ ܢܘܗܪܐ ܪܒܐ [ܘܐܬܪܐ] ܕܝܘܪܕܢ ܐܬܟܪܟ."

I have added ܘܐܬܪܐ from Barsalibi, though it is omitted by Isho'dad and Dr Harris, as ܢܘܗܪܐ ܪܒܐ corresponds to the Old Latin readings in Matt iii 16, where we find 'lumen ingens' in *a* and 'lumen magnum' in *g*. It may be remarked that *g* (Cod. Sangermanensis), where it differs from the majority of Latin MSS, in several instances presents us with readings attested for the Diatessaron.][1]

[1] Quotations from works of S. Ephraim, which are certainly genuine but are only preserved in MSS later than the 7th century, are marked off from the rest by the use of square brackets.

Matt iii 17, Mk i 11, Lk iii 22 = *Rom.* v 545 A, vi 16 C (*'Quotations'* 28)

ܗܢܐ ܒܪܝ ܚܒܝܒܝ ܕܒܗ ܣܒܝܬ. (v 545 A)

'This is my son, yea my beloved.'

ܗܢܐ ܒܪܝ ܘܚܒܝܒܝ. (vi 16 C)

This is my son and my beloved.

For ܘܚܒܝܒܝ ('and my beloved'), Pesh. has ܚܒܝܒܐ ('the beloved') in accordance with the Greek ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, but ܘܚܒܝܒܝ is the reading of *S C* in Matt iii 17 and of *S* in Lk iii 22, i.e. of syr.vt wherever it is extant[1].

The evidence of Ephraim in v 545 is all the more striking, as the quotation forms a 7-syllable line (*hânau lam bêr âφ ḥabbîβ*); ܘܚܒܝܒܝ has only two syllables and so could not stand, but Ephraim instead of using the Peshitta *ḥabbîβâ*, which would have satisfied both sense and metre, preferred to expand ܘܚܒܝܒܝ into ܒܪܝ ܚܒܝܒܝ.

Matt iv 5, Lk iv 9 = *Lamy* iv 525 *and* ii 815 (*'Quotations'* 69)

ܡܢ ܕܚܙܐ ܠܟ ܡܪܢ ܥܠ ܪܝܫ ܩܪܢܐ ܕܗܝܟܠܐ ܟܕ ܩܐܡ ܐܢܬ.

Now who had looked and saw thee, our Lord, on the head of the corner when thou wert standing?

The 'pinnacle' of the Temple is rendered by ܩܪܢܐ 'corner' (*lit.* 'horn') in *C* (Matt) and *S* (Lk). But the Peshitta has ܟܢܦܐ 'wing' in both Gospels, in agreement with *S* in S. Matthew. The 'pinnacle' is also called ܩܪܢܐ in a somewhat similar allusion *Lamy* iv 511.

Matt iv 6 (& Lk iv 9) = *Lamy* iv 523

ܗܘ ܕܩܒܠ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܢܦܠ ܡܢ ܗܪܟܐ

(Satan) who dared and said to Him 'Fall from hence.'

This widely differs from all our Syriac texts, except that of *S* in S. Matthew, which has ܢܦܠ ܡܢ ܗܪܟܐ. The other Syriac texts all

[1] See also Matt xii 18 *C*, xvii 5 *C*; Lk ix 35 *C*. In Mk ix 7 and Lk ix 35 *S* has other renderings, but never the ܚܒܝܒܐ of the Peshitta.

have '*Cast thyself* down' (*or* 'from hence') in agreement with the Greek *βάλε σεαυτὸν* [*ἐντεῦθεν*] *κάτω*.

In his Hymns on the Temptation Ephraim follows the order of S. Matthew, adding at the end that the tempter departed from our Lord *for a time*, as in S. Luke (*Lamy* iv 517). But these words are added to the text of Matt iv 11 in *S* and *C*, so that no stress can be laid on them.

[Matt v 18 = *Overbeck* 149, *Duval*, p. 37 ('*Quotations*' 67)

ܐܠܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܪܥܐ ܥܒܪܝܢ. ܘܠܐ ܚܕ ܝܘܕ ܡܢ ܐܘܪܝܬܐ ܠܐ ܢܥܒܪ.

For heaven and earth pass away, and not a Jôd-letter will pass away.

The general turn of the sentence is taken from Matt xxiv 35, but 'one Jôd-letter' is the peculiar rendering of *ἰῶτα ἓν ἢ μία κεραία* found in Aphraates and in *S* at Matt v 18, while *C* has the double rendering 'one Jôd-letter or one horn' (ܩܪܢܐ). But the Peshitta has ܚܕ ܝܘܕ ܐܘ ܚܕ ܟܐܦ 'one Jôd or one line,' an independent rendering which follows the wording of the Greek.

It is right to add that this passage of the *Testament* is absent from the short recension in B.M. Add. 14582, but it is accepted by M. Duval. It comes in the last strophe of the genuine work.]

Matt v 39, Lk vi 29 = *Nis.* 72[124] ('*Quotations*' 28)

ܕܡܚܝܟ ܥܠ ܠܚܝܐ ܕܝܡܝܢܐ. ܗܒ ܠܗ ܐܦ ܠܚܝܐ ܕܫܡܐܠܐ.

'*He that smiteth thee on thy cheek, thine other cheek present to him.*'

A paraphrase, partly caused by metrical considerations, but omitting 'right' as an epithet to 'cheek,' in agreement with *S* and *C* against the Peshitta.

[Matt vi 11, Lk xi 3 = *Lamy* iii 53 ('*Quotations*' 70)

ܐܝܟ ܕܠܚܡܐ ܕܚܝܝܬܐ ܩܝܡ ܠܥܠܡ. ܠܚܡ ܩܝܡ ܗܒ ܠܢ ܡܪܝ.

As the Serpent's bread is constant, constant bread give us, my Lord!

This is an evident allusion to the 'daily bread' of the Lord's Prayer. 'Constant bread' (ܠܚܡ ܩܝܡ) is the rendering of *ἄρτος*

ἐπιούσιος found in all Old Syriac authorities wherever they are extant, including the Acts of Thomas (see above, p. 105); it even survives in the Homily upon the Lord's Prayer by Jacob of Serug (B.M. Add. 17157, *fol.* 38). But the Peshitta has both in S. Matthew and S. Luke 'the bread of our need' (ܠܚܡܐ ܕܣܘܢܩܢ).]

Matt ix 17 = *Rom.* v 538 c ('*Quotations*' 28)

ܠܐ ܡܫܕܝܢ ܚܡܪܐ ܚܕܬܐ ܒܢܘܗܪ̈ܐ ܕܫܝܢ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܚܕܬ

They do not set new wine in bottles that have worn out.

Pesh. and *S* both have ܢܬܝܢ 'put' for ܡܫܕܝܢ 'set,' and ܚܠܝܢܐ for ܫܝܢ. The second variation is no doubt occasioned by the metre.

Matt x 5 = *Lamy* iv 545

ܠܐ ܠܡ ܗܠܟܬܘܢ ܒܫܒܝܠ ܥܡܡܐ ܘܠܐ ܒܡܕܝܢܬ ܫܡܪ̈ܝܐ ܬܥܠܘܢ.

'*Ye shall not go in the way of the pagans, nor in a town of the Samaritans' land.*'

The insertion of ܗܘ before ܒܫܒܝܠ, like that of ܠܡ in the first line is caused by the metrical necessities of an 8-syllable verse. In ܥܡܡܐ 'pagans' Ephraim agrees with Pesh. against *S*, which has ܐܡܡܐ 'peoples' for ἐθνῶν, but in this particular rendering we may be practically certain from the evidence of Aphraates that the Diatessaron also had ܥܡܡܐ: see next chapter, p. 182. On the other hand Ephraim agrees with *S* against Pesh. in having ܒܝܬ 'town' instead of ܩܪܬܐ 'city,' although ܒܫܒܝܠ ܗܘ ܕܒܬܪ̈ܐ ܕܠܐ would have made an unexceptionable line in the required metre.

Matt xi 19, Lk vii 34 = *Lamy* ii 747 ('*Quotations*' 29)

ܗܘ ܕܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܗ ܐܝܟܠ ܘܫܬܝ ܗܘ.....ܠܟܠ ܫܟܝܪ̈ܐ ܐܡܪ̈ܝܢ ܗܘ ܕܫܬܝ ܘܐܝܟܠ

By the dissipated He was thought an eater...by the drunkards He was thought a drinker.

The opprobrious words φάγος and οἰνοπότης seem to have offended the later translators, both in Syriac and Latin. φάγος of course could not be avoided; it means *uorax* and had to be so translated, while

the Syriac equivalent is ܟܠܐܒܐ, literally 'an eater' but practically meaning 'glutton.' But οἰνοπότης could be softened by translating it etymologically. Accordingly the Latins used *bibens uinum* and *potator uini* to replace the older *uinaria* preserved in *k* and Augustine, while the Peshitta (followed by the Harclean) has ܫܬܝܐ ܚܡܪܐ 'drinking wine.' The scandal of calling our Lord a wine-bibber was thus avoided. But instead of ܫܬܝܐ ܚܡܪܐ we find ܟܐܝ 'a drunkard' in Lk vii 34 *S C*, and ܫܚܝܐ (*shattâyâ*) i.e. 'a drinker,' 'one given to drink,' in Matt xi 19 *S C*; this latter is the word used by Ephraim.

Matt xiv 28 ff. = *Overbeck* 27 : *cf also Lamy* i 263 (*'Quotations'* 29)

This is a reference to the story of S. Peter walking on the water, textually interesting because he is twice called ܫܡܥܘܢ (ll. 7, 27) and only once ܟܐܦܐ (l. 18). The name comes twice in the narrative, and Pesh. has ܟܐܦܐ i.e. 'Cephas,' while *S* and *C* have 'Simon Cephas.' The Greek form 'Petros' is very uncommon in the Syriac text of the Gospels : it occurs only in such places as Joh i 42 *S*. In somewhat similar allusions to the same story in *Lamy* i 263, iv 439, the name Simon alone occurs.

Matt xv 27 = *Rom.* vi 585 D (*'Quotations'* 29).

This is best taken in connexion with the quotation of Mk vii 28.

Matt xvi 2, 3 ; see on Lk xii 54—56 (*'Quotations'* 30).

Matt xvi 18 = *Overbeck* 352 (*'Quotations'* 30)

...ܕܡܠܬܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܥܠ ܥܕܬܗ ܕܥܠ ܗܝ ܐܡܪ ܕܬܪܥܝ ܕܫܐܘܠ ܠܐ ܢܫܠܛܘܢ ܒܗ.

...the word of our Lord, that of His Church He spake, that 'the gate-bars of Sheol shall not be able to conquer it.'

The 'gate-bars of Sheol' (πύλαι ᾅδου) occur again in Eus. *Theoph*^{syr} iii 27, iv 11, v 40, and in *HE*^{syr} 417. The same graphic phrase is also found in a passage ascribed to Ephraim in the Severus Catena and in *Lamy* iv 673, 687. In Matt xvi 18 *C* and Pesh. have ܬܪܥܝ ܕܫܐܘܠ 'the doors of Sheol' : *S* is unfortunately not extant.

Matt xvi 19 = *Lamy* i 267 (' *Quotations* ' 30)

ܕܬܗܝܒ ܠܟ ܠܟ ܡܦܬܚ̈ܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ.

He said to Simon, ' To thee I will give the keys of the doors.'

The Peshitta has here, in accordance with the Greek, ' the keys of the kingdom of heaven,' but *C* has ' the keys of the doors of the kingdom of heaven.' Thus Ephraim's text agrees with *C* against Pesh. in an addition for which no other authority is known. *S* is deficient; Aphraates 141 has ' Hear ye also, that hold the keys of the doors of heaven.'

Matt xviii (12,) 13, Lk xv 4, (5) = *Overbeck* 114 (' *Quotations* ' 30)

ܡܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܟܘܢ ܓܒܪܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܡܐܐ ܥܢܐ ܒܛܘܪܐ ܘܚܕ ܢܦܠ ܡܢܗ ܠܐ ܫܒܩ ܠܬܫܥܝܢ ܘܬܫܥܐ ܒܡܪܥܝܬܐ ܘܒܛܘܪܐ ܘܐܙܠ ܒܥܐ ܠܗ̈ܝ ܕܐܒܕ ܥܕ ܕܫܟܚ ܠܗ̈ܝ ..... ܘܟܕ ܫܟܚ ܠܗ̈ܝ ܡܫܒܚ ܥܠ ܗ̈ܝ ܕܠܐ ܐܒܕܘ.

' *Who is there of you that hath beasts in the hill-country, and one sheep stray from him,—doth he not leave the ninety and nine in the plain and in the hill, and come and seek that which strayed until he find it?'...*

' *And what time he hath found it, he rejoiceth over it more than those ninety and nine that did not stray.*'

It is difficult to believe that a mosaic such as this can have come from anywhere but the Diatessaron. There is nothing in the wording which definitely indicates the use either of the Peshitta text or of that found in *S* and *C*, except that ܦܪܘܒܛܐ as a rendering for πρόβατα occurs in Joh x 3 ff. in *S*, but never in the Peshitta. The Arabic Diatessaron (xxvi 4, 5) gives us Lk xv 4 followed by Matt xviii 13, which is practically what we find in Ephraim, but without the characteristic phrase ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܐܝܬ which combines the ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ of Lk xv 4 with the ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη of Matt xviii 12.

Matt xviii 22 = *Nis.* 72[168] (*'Quotations'* 31)

ܥܕܡ ܠܟܘܠ ܥܕܡ ܥܕܡ ܥܕܡ ܠܐ ܥܕ ܥܕܡ.

Forgive thy brother (he saith) 'by sevens seventy times over.'

The idiomatic ܥܕ which is here used something like the English 'for' ('in batches of seven, for seventy times') is found in *S C* and Aphraates 35 and 298. And as if to remove all doubt as to the exact meaning the number is stated in Aphraates 298 to be 490 times. But the Peshitta, in more literal accordance with the Greek, has 'unto seventy times by sevens' (ܫܒܥܝܢ ܙܒܢ ܘܙܒܢ ܥܕܡ ܫܒܥ ܥܕ ܫܒܥܝܢ)[1].

Matt xxi 3 = *Rom.* iv 108, 109 (*'Quotations'* 32)

ܕܡܪܝܗ ܠܟܘܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܘܡܫܕܪ ܠܟܘܢ ܠܘܬ ܡܪܝܗ ܕܟܠܗܝܢ ܡܬܒܥܝ ܠܗ (*sic* MS)

Say ye to them that for their Lord they are required.

So also *C* has ܕܡܪܝܗ ܕܟܠܗܝܢ ܠܘܬ ܡܪܝܗ for ὁ κύριος αὐτῶν χρείαν ἔχει.

This quotation, short as it is, presents several points of difficulty and interest. It comes from the Commentary on Genesis, a genuine prose work of S. Ephraim, and was assigned by Mr Woods (in *Studia Biblica* iii, p. 126) to Mk xi 2, 3. The text of the quotation which Mr Woods had before him (Ed. Rom. iv 108, 109) runs thus:—

ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܥܝܪ ܕܐܬܪܟܒ [ܘܫܪܝܘ ܘܐܝܬܝܘ ܠܗ.] ܐܢ ܢܐܡܪܘܢ ܠܟ ܠܡܐ ܐܢܬ ܡܫܪܐ ܠܗ ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܠܡܪܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ.

For He said [Ye will find a colt tied; loose him and bring him.] that if they say to you 'Why are ye loosing that colt?' say to them that for our Lord it is required.

The brackets are my own insertion.

Mr Woods called the quotation a combination of Mark and Matt., and noted that while *C* (the Curetonian) had many verbal variations from the Peshitta, yet in the only 'important variation' it differed from Ephraim's quotation where the quotation agreed with the Peshitta.

The 'important variation' concerns the words which in the Greek

[1] The addition of ܫܒܥ in Pesh. is not significant, as both *S* and $A^2/_2$ add ܫܒܥ after ܥܕ ܥܫܪܝܢ.

of Matt xxi 3 run

ὁ κύριος αὐτῶν χρείαν ἔχει

(Mk xi 3 and Lk xix 34 have of course αὐτοῦ in the singular). The extant Syriac readings are

1 'For our Lord they are (*or* it is) required' Pesh. (Matt) (Mk, Lk).

2*a* 'For their Lord they are required' *C* (Matt).

2*b* 'For its Lord it is required' *S C* (Lk) *S* (Mk)[1].

It is evident that we have here two independent interpretations of the Greek. According to the Peshitta ὁ κύριος is used absolutely of Christ (as so often in Lk, so rarely in Matt and Mk): according to *S* and *C*, on the other hand, αὐτῶν or αὐτοῦ is taken with κύριος, so that it means the 'master' of the animals, either as Lord of all creatures or as their legal possessor.

Thus the quotation in S. Ephraim's Commentary on Genesis, as given in the Roman Edition, presents quite a striking agreement with the Peshitta. The passage printed above within brackets agrees verbally with clauses in the Peshitta text of Mk xi 2 and 3, and the last two words agree in a characteristic variation with the Peshitta against the MSS of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe.*

But the fact is that the text of the Roman Edition does not in the least represent the text of the MS upon which it is based. The MS (Vat. Syr. cx) was examined some time ago by Dr A. Pohlmann, who published a tract upon it in 1862–4. The practical result of this investigation is that you can never trust a Biblical quotation in the printed text of the Commentary where it verbally agrees with the Peshitta. In the present instance the bracketed passage is not in the MS at all, having been added *de suo* by the editor (Pohlmann, p. 52); while for the last two words the MS actually has (Pohlmann, p. 54)

ܗܘ ܕܡܪܝܗ ܒܥܐ ܠܗ

in exact accordance with the Curetonian text of Matt xxi 3! The translation therefore of S. Ephraim's reference to the Entry into Jerusalem should run

[1] In Mk xi 3 *S* reads ܒܥܐ ܠܗ, as is clear from the photograph, not ܒܥܐ ܗܘ as was edited in the Syndics' Edition. *S* is not extant for Matt xxi 3, and *C* is not extant for Mk xi 3.

'For He said that if they say to you 'Why are ye loosing that colt?' say to them that for their Lord[1] they are required.'

I may add that if the quotation was taken by S. Ephraim from the Diatessaron, as seems probable, it was only to be expected that it should give us the text of S. Matthew (who alone mentions two animals) rather than that of S. Mark and S. Luke[2].

Matt xxi 40, 41 = *Lamy* i 253 ('*Quotations*' 34)

ܡܢܐ ܠܗ ܐܡܪ ܕܥܒܕ ܗܢܐ ܟܪܡܐ ܠܫܢܝ ܩܛܠ.

ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܕܡ ܫܢܝ ܒܝ ܒܝܫ ܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܒܝܫ[41]. ܐܦ ܐܢ ܥܒܕ ܠܗ

ܟܪܡܐ ܗܢܐ ܠܓܒܪ̈ܐ ܐܚܪ̈ܢ̈ܐ. ܕܢܬܠ̈ܘ ܠܗ ܒܥܝܢܝ̈ܗ̇ ܕܢܬܠ̈ܘ ܠܗ ܒܙܒܢ̈ܗ̇.

For 'What (quoth He) will the master of the vineyard do to those husbandmen?

[41] *But they say to him concerning themselves that evilly he will destroy them and will let out the vineyard to husbandmen which raise for him the produce in its season.'*

Two points deserve notice in this quotation, which comes from the prose Homily on our Lord. The only part of it which appears to be intended for a real quotation is the answer of the Pharisees: that this is a real quotation is certain from the occurrence in it of the peculiar Syriac rendering of Matt xxi 41[3]. But the final clause in Ephraim differs altogether both from the Syriac Vulgate and the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. At the same time Ephraim's 'raise for him the produce' is as good a representation of ἀποδώσουσιν αὐτῷ τοὺς καρποὺς as 'give to him the fruits' (ܢܬܠ̈ܘ ܠܗ ܦܝܪ̈ܝ), which is the rendering found in *S C* and the Peshitta.

[1] Or, 'for their master.'

[2] This quotation of S. Ephraim was discussed by the present writer in the *Journal of Theological Studies* i 569 ff.

[3] The clause referred to is ܒܝܫ ܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܒܝܫ, which corresponds to κακοὺς κακῶς ἀπολέσει αὐτούς in *S C* and Pesh., as well as in the quotation of Ephraim. Judging by the phrase ܒܝܫ ܒܝܫ ܚܒܪ̈ܝܢ, which so often stands for κακῶς ἔχοντες, this rendering might be held to imply the omission of κακούς, but it is more likely to be nothing more than an attempt to give the effect of the alliteration in the Greek. *Moes.* 192 has 'malos per mala perdet' (*զչարսն չարեօք սատակեացէ*), but this Armenian rendering may have been influenced by the Armenian vulgate which has *զչարսն չարաւ...*

The other point concerns the rendering of ἐκδώσεται in Matt xxi 41. In ܐܓܪ 'he will let out (on hire)' Ephraim and Pesh. agree against *S C*. This word is used in all the Syriac texts of Mk xii 1 and Lk xx 9. But in the passage before us *S* has ܢܬܠ 'he will give' (as in Mk xii 9 and Lk xx 16), and *C* has ܢܫܠܡ 'he will deliver' (as in Matt xxi 33 *S C*). Thus the text of S. Matthew as given in *S* and *C* seems to avoid the word ܐܓܪ, though its occurrence in S. Mark and S. Luke shews that it was the natural one to use; it is therefore clear that S. Ephraim's quotation cannot be explained by the use of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. But neither can S. Ephraim's quotation be explained by the use of the Peshitta alone, as in the final clause the quotation differs as much from the diction of the Peshitta as from that of *S* and *C*. It may reasonably be conjectured that here as in other places S. Ephraim is giving us the text of the *Diatessaron*, and that the agreement in this single point between the Diatessaron as represented by Ephraim and the Syriac Vulgate is merely the result of literally rendering the Greek. But instances of this agreement are so rare compared with those where the renderings of the Diatessaron agree with the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* against the Syriac Vulgate that it is worth while to draw special attention to those which make the other way. The case is in every way similar to that of ܕܚܝܫ in Lk vii 43, to be discussed later on.

Matt xxii 13 = *Nis.* 84[230] ('*Quotations*' 35)

ܕܒܝܢܘܗ, ܠܗܘ ܠܓܒܪܐ. ܕܦܓܪܗ ܕܚܒܠ ܗܘܐ.

They fettered that man, whose body was defiled.

The reference to the Parable of the Wedding Feast is quite clear in the context, and S. Ephraim has just explained that the body is the wedding-garment, which ought to be kept bright and clean.

S. Ephraim obviously supports the reading of the better Greek MSS δήσαντες αὐτοῦ πόδας καὶ χεῖρας ἐκβάλετε αὐτὸν..., which is also the reading of Pesh.; while *S* and *C* have 'Take hold of him by his hands and by his feet and put him forth,' which seems to represent ἄρατε αὐτὸν ποδῶν καὶ χειρῶν καὶ βάλετε αὐτὸν..., the reading of D and lat.vt.

But whereas Pesh. here uses the ordinary word ܐܣܪ for 'bind,' Ephraim has ܒܙܥ to 'fasten' or 'fetter,' a word which only occurs once in the N.T. Peshitta, *viz.* Ac xxii 29. It might naturally be thought that Ephraim's use of ܒܙܥ was a mere paraphrastic alteration of the Biblical text, but the same word occurs in the quotation of Matt xxii 13 in the Syriac *Theophania* iv 16, and in an express allusion in the Syriac *Acts of Thomas* (Wright, p. 315)[1]. A version of this passage, therefore, containing the word ܒܙܥ instead of ܐܣܪ, must have been once current, and from this version and not from the Peshitta was S. Ephraim's quotation made. It is unfortunate that no allusion to Matt xxii 13 is made in the Commentary on the *Diatessaron*.

Matt xxiii 8 = *Rom.* v 491 B ('*Quotations*' 36)

ܐܢ ܠܐ ܢܬܩܪܘ ܠܐ ܚܕ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܪܒܐ

Ye shall not call (any one) a great one on earth.

This agrees with *S C*, which have ܐܢ ܠܐ ܚܕ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܪܒܐ ܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ i.e. 'but ye, ye shall not call (any one) Rabbi'; Pesh., on the other hand, has ܢܬܪܒܐ instead of ܚܕ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܪܒܐ, making the sense to be 'but ye, ye shall not be called Rabbi,' in accordance with the Greek.

Matt xxvi 13 = *Lamy* i 257 ('*Quotations*' 36)

ܕܐܡܪ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܗ ܠܟܠ ܐܬܪ ܕܒܟܠ ܥܡܡܐ ܕܐܢ ܐܬܟܪܙ ܒܥܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܝ ܐܦ ܗܢ ܕܥܒܕܬ ܗܝ ܕܬܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܫܡܐ ܘܗܢ ܕܟܪܢܐ ܒܟܠ ܐܬܪ

Matt xxvii 46 = *Rom.* v 558 A (*'Quotations'* 36)

ܐܠܗܝ ܐܠܗܝ ܠܡܢܐ ܫܒܩܬܢܝ (*sic*)

Eli, El, why hast thou left me?

For the first words *S* has ܐܠ ܐܠ (i.e. 'Eli, Eli') in Matt and ܐܠܗܝ ܐܠܗܝ (i.e. 'My God, my God') in Mk. Pesh. has ܐܠܗܝ ܐܠܗܝ both in Matt and in Mk. I owe the correct transcription of Cod. Vat. Syr. cxi (p. 263 *a*), given above, to the kindness of Dr G. Mercati, of the Vatican Library.

Mark iv 39 = *Lamy* i 263 (*'Quotations'* 37)

ܣܟܘ ܠܟ ܘܐܬܟܡܝ

For 'Be quiet! (quoth He) thou art muzzled!'

B.M. Add. 14654 (Lamy's B, but not cited by him here) has ܣܟܘ ܠܟ ܘܐܬܟܡܝ 'Be quiet! thou art stilled!' But both the MSS of S. Ephraim's Homily agree in having a feminine participle, so that the rebuke is addressed to the wind. *S* and *C* are unfortunately both missing, but Pesh. has ܣܟܘ ܘܐܬܟܡ (with masc. verbs and pronoun), and the rebuke is addressed to the sea. Here again therefore S. Ephraim shews his independence of the Peshitta.

Mark vii 28 (Matt xv 27) = *Lamy* i 163 (*cf Rom.* vi 585 D) (*'Quotations'* 37)

ܕܢܣܒܥ ܐܢܬ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܦܬܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܣܦܪ ܒܢܝ ܡܪܝ ܕܢܦܠܝܢ

That thou shouldest satisfy them from the crumbs that from the sons' table were falling.

(*Rom.* vi 585 D has

ܟܠܒܐ ܡܢ ܦܬܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܗܘܢ ܣܒܥܝܢ ܗܘ

Dogs from the crumbs of their masters are satisfied.)

The second quotation occurs in the Hymns *De Paradiso* and is obviously a paraphrase. It is however noteworthy that both quotations agree in having a form of the verb ܣܒܥ 'satisfy.' The first quotation

is from the prose Homily on our Lord, and is remarkable for containing the phrase "the sons' table," which is not found in any Greek MS or in the Peshitta, but does actually occur in Mk vii 28 according to *S* and arm.vg. That it was also the reading of the Diatessaron is probable from *Moes.* 138, where Moesinger's cod. B has "Yea, Lord, even dogs eat of the crumbs of the children's table[1]." Here again therefore Ephraim, the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* and the Diatessaron unite in preserving a singular expression, of which the Peshitta has no trace[2].

The allusion in *Rom.* VI 585 D to this saying of Christ is chiefly remarkable for the word ܦܬܬܐ 'crumbs.' This word is synonymous in meaning with the word ܦܬܬܝܐ used in syr.vt-vg, and is also metrically equivalent. The fact that it is found in the Harclean (both in Matt xv 27 and Mk vii 28) is curious, but the circumstance is too isolated to have any special significance.

Mark vii 33 = *Lamy* i 171 ('*Quotations*' 38)

ܘܣ ܠܗ ܒܨܒܥܘܗܝ ܘܫܚ ܒܐܕܢܘܗܝ ܕܟܦܐ ܗܘ.

'*He spat on his fingers and put* (*it*) *in the ears of that deaf-mute.*'

The variants in Mk vii 33 are particularly interesting: there are four rival readings extant in Greek, and three of these (if not all four) are represented in Syriac, or in translations from the Syriac.

(*a*) ܘܣ ܠܗ ܒܨܒܥܘܗܝ ܘܫܚ ܒܐܕܢܘܗܝ ܘܒܨ ܒܠܫܢܗ ܕܐܟܐ Pesh.

He laid his fingers in his ears, and spat and touched his tongue.

This is the reading supported by most Greek MSS, including B (ℵ) and the 'Received Text' (*ἔβαλεν τοὺς δακτύλους αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰ ὦτα αὐτοῦ καὶ πτύσας ἥψατο τῆς γλώσσης αὐτοῦ*).

[1] The other MS has "their masters' table," in agreement with Matt xv 27.

[2] The actual texts found in syr. vt-vg are :—

ܐܦ ܟܠܒܐ ܐܟܠܝܢ ܡܢ ܦܬܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܗܘܢ ܕܡܢ ܛܒܠܐ ܕܒܢܝ.

Mk vii 28 *S*

ܐܦ ܟܠܒܐ ܐܟܠܝܢ ܡܢ ܦܬܬܝܐ ܕܡܪܝܗܘܢ ܕܒܢܝ.

Mk vii 28 *Pesh.*

ܐܦ ܟܠܒܐ ܐܟܠܝܢ ܡܢ [ܦܬܬܝܐ ܕܡܪܝܗܘܢ ܕܡܢ] ܛܒܠܐ ܕܒܢܝ ܕܡܫ

Matt xv 27 *Pesh.* (*S*) (*C*)

[*S omits the bracketed words, C adds* ܕܡ *after* ܟܠܒܐ.]

(*b*) ܘܫܕܐ ܒܐܨܒܥܘܗܝ ܒܐܕܢܘܗܝ ܘܡܫܚ ܠܠܫܢܗ ܕܐܝܠܡ S

He put his fingers and spat in his ears and touched his tongue.

This is the reading of the 'Ferrar Group' and of the very important minuscule 28 ([ἐπ]ἔβαλεν τοὺς δακτύλους αὐτοῦ πτύσας εἰς τὰ ὦτα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἥψατο τῆς γλώσσης αὐτοῦ).

(*c*) نفث علي اصابعه والقي في اذنيه ولمس لسانه Diat^{ar} xxi 3

He spat on his fingers and put (it) in his ears and touched his tongue.

This agrees with Ephraim's quotation, and is attested in Greek by the uncial fragment called W^{d} (ἐπτυσεν εἰσ τουσ δακτύλουσ ἀυτοῦ· και εβαλεν εἰσ τὰ ὠτα τοῦ κωφοῦ· κἀι ἥψατο τῆσ γλωσσασ του μογγιλάλου). The passage is not quoted in Ephraim's Commentary, but the fact that the Arabic Diatessaron does not agree with the Peshitta makes it certain that the Arabic has here preserved the ancient Syriac text substantially unaltered[1].

In this passage, therefore, Ephraim follows the transmitted text of the Diatessaron, while both the Peshitta and the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* differ from it and from each other.

Mark xii 42 = *Nis.* 91$^{36\,f.}$ ('*Quotations*' 39)

ܕܐܪܡܠܬܐ ܡܛܝܠ ܘܡܫܟܚ ܠܐܪܡܠܬܐ ܡܫܟܚ.

The pound and the mite of the widow he increased.

S has ܬܪܬܝ ܕܡܨܥܝܢ ܪܒܥܐ ܕܡܐܐ 'two mites which are a quarter' for λεπτὰ δύο, ὅ ἐστιν κοδράντης. But the Peshitta has ܬܪܬܝ ܕܡܐܐ ܕܡܨܥܝܢ ܡܐܐ 'two pounds which are mites.' This is obviously the rendering followed by S. Ephraim.

It seems to me very probable that in this case as in many others the Peshitta has retained unaltered a previously existing Syriac

[1] The fourth reading, found in D (565) lat.vt, puts πτύσας before ἔβαλεν, but otherwise agrees with (*a*). By a curious coincidence this reading is found in the Discourses of Philoxenus (*Budge* i 45). His words are

ܘܫܕܐ ܒܐܨܒܥܘܗܝ ܒܐܕܢܘܗܝ ܘܡܫܚ ܠܠܫܢܗ ܕܐܝܠܡ ܗܘ

which looks like a conflation of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* with the Diatessaron, as Philoxenus can hardly have derived his text direct from D and the Latins.

rendering. For it is wholly unfair to equate the μνᾶ (*Mina* or *Maneh*) of the Parable of the Pounds with the λεπτὸν of the poor widow, and the later Syriac scholars were quite incapable of originating such a mistake[1]. My friend Professor A. A. Bevan suggests that the original rendering may have been ܡܢܐ, in which case we must read ܡܢܝܐ and ܡܢܝܬܐ, as ܓܪܐ (a small coin, Heb. *gera*) is feminine[2].

We may notice that the widow's mites are called ܡܢܝܐ ܕܐܪܡܠܬܐ in *Rom.* vi 677 E and in *Lamy* iv 541, 579.

Luke ii 30 = *Lamy* i 259, 261 (' *Quotations* ' 40)

ܗܐ ܥܝܢܝ ܚܙܘ ܠܟ ܒܪ ܚܝܝ.

' *Lo, mine eyes have seen thy Mercy!* '

This agrees both with *S* and the Peshitta. The regular equivalent for *τὸ σωτήριόν σου*, according to Syriac Biblical usage, would be ܚܝܝ ' thy Life,' and ܚܝܝ ' thy Mercy ' looks like an intentional alteration of this. But if so, the alteration must have taken place before S. Ephraim's day.

Luke ii 34 = *Lamy* i 267 (' *Quotations* ' 40)

ܗܢܐ ܩܝܡ ܠܢܦܠܬܐ ܘܠܩܝܡܬܐ.

' *This one is set for falling and for rising.* '

The same words (and no more) are quoted in a passage of the Severus Catena (*Rom.* iv 129, 130), on which Mr Woods remarks: " The use of this expression without any further limitation is certainly curious. Now in the translation of the Commentary on the Diatessaron (see Zahn, II. ii. § 4 [*Moesinger* 28]) we have *Ecce hic stat in ruinam et in resurrectionem et in signum contradictionis*, and Ephrem's comment shows that this is not an abbreviation but a real variant. It seems likely therefore that we have in this quotation an omission of the words ' of many in Israel ' influenced by the Diatessaron." Mr Woods's argument is certainly strengthened by the passage quoted

[1] The Harclean has ܐܟ̈ܣ, i.e. the Greek word transliterated.

[2] The very same corruption also occurs in the Jerusalem Targum to Exod xxx 13, which has מנין where Onkelos has מעין.

above from the undoubtedly genuine *Homily on our Lord.* In this verse, the Peshitta has the ordinary text 'This one is set for the falling and for the rising of many in Israel'; but *S* presents us with the curious order 'This one is set in Israel for the falling and for the rising of many.'

Luke ii 36 = *Lamy* iii 813 (' *Quotations*' 41)

ܚܢܐ ܚܢܐ ܕܡܫܒܚ. ܠܒܥܠܗ ܢܩܥܗ. ܕܐܬܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܒܥ ܝܘܡ̈ܝ. ܗܘ ܕܒܬܘܠ ܐܡܗ ܕܒܬܘܠ ܐܡܗ ܕܒܬܘܠ ܐܡܗ

Luke vi 29; see on Matt v 39 (' *Quotations* ' 41).

Luke vii 14 = *Nis.* 72[179, 180] (' *Quotations* ' 42)

ܥܒܕ ܝܫܘ ܒܝܪ ܠܚܒܪ. ܚܠܡܪܐ ܚܠܡܪܐ ܩܪܐ.

Now Jesus called to the dead man ' Youth, youth ! '

This remarkable reading is expressly attested by Aphraates, who says (p. 165): "And with two words He raised each one of them. For the son of the widow, when He raised him, He called twice, saying to him 'Youth, youth, arise!'—and he lived and arose. And the daughter of the chief of the Synagogue He called twice, saying to her 'Girl, girl, arise!'[1]—and her spirit returned and she arose." Thus Ephraim's reading (which is also that of D and of *a ff* of the Old Latin), was that which was alone familiar to Aphraates, and we may safely conjecture that it stood in the Diatessaron. But it is not the reading either of the Peshitta or of *S.*

Luke vii 34; see on Matt xi 19 (' *Quotations* ' 42).

Luke vii 41–43 = *Lamy* ii, p. xxii f. (*supplying the lacuna in* i 249) (' *Quotations* ' 42 f.)

ܗܘܬ ܠܟ ܣܒܝܡ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܠܚܕܢ ܡܫܟܢܬܐ. ܒ ܠܟ ܫܒ ܡܢ
ܕܢܐ ܡܫܟܢܬܐ ܘܚܫܒܢ ܒܝ ܕܢܐ ܡܫܟܢܬܐ.....ܘܫܒ ܠܟ
ܟܡ ܠܗ ܠܫ ܚܡܝ ܕܢܦܫܗܘܢ, ܠܗܝܡ ܕ ܚܒ. ܠܡܢ ܫܡ

ܚܕ ܕܝܢܝ ܕܗܘ ܣܒܝܡ,. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܕ ܚܒ ܘܐ ܡܢ
ܕܗܘ ܕܫܚܪܗ ܠܗ ܫ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܕ ܗܘ ܚܫܒܬ ܕܢܟ.

[41] ' *Two debtors there were to a man, a money-lender. One was in debt for five hundred denars, but the other for fifty denars.*'...' *Finally,* [42] *when not one of them had aught to pay him, he forgave them both. Which dost thou set in thy mind will most love him?* ' [43] *Simon saith to him* ' *I suppose it is he to whom he forgave much.*' *Our Lord saith to him* ' *Correctly hast thou judged.*'

[1] Or we may regard it as a transliteration and render it ' *Talitha, talitha, cumi.*' Traces of this reading also are to be found in D and the Latin texts of Mk v 41.

It will not be necessary to give in full all the trifling variations between Ephraim's not absolutely accurate quotation and the Biblical MSS. The three significant readings are: (1) in *ver.* 41 Ephraim with *S* has ܓܒܪܐ ܪܒܐ 'a man, a money-lender,' while *C* and the Peshitta have ܚܕ ܒܥܠ ܕܝܢ 'a certain creditor.' That the reading of *S* and Ephraim was also that of the Diatessaron is clear from Moesinger, where however what appears in the Latin (p. 114) as *uni domino creditori* should be translated *viro cuidam feneratori* (ա՛ն ուրուէ փոխատուի). (2) In the beginning of *ver.* 43 both *S* and *C* have with Ephraim 'Simon saith to him,' while the Peshitta has more in accordance with the Greek 'Simon answered and said.' The simplification of these introductory sentences in dialogue is one of the characteristics of the Old Syriac, while the Peshitta tends to follow the Greek wording. It is therefore noteworthy that Ephraim here agrees with *S C* and not with the Peshitta. (3) At the end of *ver.* 43 Ephraim has ܫܪܝܪܐܝܬ 'correctly' in agreement with the Peshitta, while *S C* have ܝܦܐ 'well.' The word in the Greek is ὀρθῶς, which is translated by ܫܪܝܪܐܝܬ in Lk x 28, xx 21, by *S* and *C* as well as Pesh. In this passage the agreement of *S* and *C* shews us that ܝܦܐ was really the reading of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, which is therefore not the text from which Ephraim is quoting[1].

Luke ix 62 = *Overbeck* 127 ('*Quotations*' 43)

ܠܐ ܡܫܕܪ ܐܝܕܗ ܥܠ ܡܚܪܬܐ ܘܡܒܛ ܠܐܚܘܪܘܗܝ ܘܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ.

No one putteth his hand on the plough-share and looketh behind him, and becometh fit for the kingdom of heaven.

Here again Ephraim does not exactly reproduce any of the Syriac Biblical texts, for both *S C* and Pesh. have 'God,' not 'heaven.' But the insertion of ܥܒܕ 'becometh' is attested by *S C*.

[1] A parallel case is the rendering of ἐκδώσεται, which has been discussed above on Matt xxi 41.

[Luke xii 16–20 = *Letter to Publius*, B.M. Add. 7190, *fol.* 191 v, *sic* (*'Quotations'* 72)

ܠܐ ܫܡܥ ܐܢܬ ܡܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܗ ܠܡܢ ܕܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܥܬܪܐ ܣܓܝܐ ܠܡܢ
ܫܒܚ ܠܢܦܫܗ ܢܦܫܝ ܟܠܝ ܘܫܬܝ ܘܬܢܚ ܕܗܐ ܣܓܝ ܠܟ ܥܬܪܐ ܠܫܢܝܢ
ܣܓܝܐ ܘܠܐ ܫܡܥܬ ܕܥܕ ܕܗܘ ܡܠܬܗ ܒܦܘܡܗ ܡܬܩܒܠ ܗܘܐ ܩܠܐ ܡܪܝܪܐ
ܒܚܝܩ ܐܘܕܢܗ ܕܩܪܐ ܠܗ ܣܟܠܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܗܐ ܒܗܕܐ ܠܝܠܝܐ ܢܦܫܟ
ܡܢܟ ܡܬܒܥܝܢ ܠܗ ܘܡܐ ܕܐܬܟܣ ܠܡܢ ܢܗܘܐ ܠܗ.

Dost thou not see what befel him whose land brought in to him much produce? Because he said to his soul: 'My soul, eat and drink and rest and be merry, because lo, much produce is stored up for thee for many years,'—hast thou not heard that while yet his word in his mouth was sweet, the bitter Voice was received in the bosom of his ear, which was calling him 'Senseless one' and saying: 'Lo, in this night thy dear soul—from thee they require it; that which thou hast made ready, whose will it be?'

This Parable is quoted in Aphraates 381 in very close agreement with the extract from the Letter to Publius. In common with Aphraates and *C* against *S* and Pesh. it has 'he said to his soul' instead of 'I will say to my soul.' In common with Aphraates and *S* against *C* and Pesh. it has ܬܟܣ 'stored up' instead of ܐܬܟܢ 'laid up.' In common with Aphraates and Pesh. against *S* and *C* it prefixes the vocative 'Soul' to the rich man's meditation, and it has ܐܟܠ 'eat' instead of the synonym ܐܟܘ. But it also has in common with Aphraates against *S C* and Pesh. the remarkable phrase ܠܐ ܠܒ 'senseless' (*lit.* 'without heart') instead of ܣܟܠ̈ܐ 'lacking in mind' as a rendering of *ἄφρων*, and it also has the singular instead of the plural in the last clause. It is difficult to assign any sufficient cause for this marked agreement between the 'Letter to Publius' and Aphraates against Syriac Biblical texts, except a common use of the Diatessaron.]

Luke xii 49 = *Overbeck* 124, 126 (‘*Quotations*’ 44)

ܐܬܝܬ ܐܫܕܐ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܕܢܘܪܐ.

Fire I came to cast in the earth.

This agrees with Pesh. against *S C*, which add ܗܘ ܓܝ after ܢܘܪܐ (*For fire it is that I came to cast...*).

Luke xii 54–56, [Matt] xvi 2, 3 = *Rom.* v 320 B (‘*Quotations*’ 44 f.).

ܐܦ ܠܐܦ ܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܪܥܐ ܐܬܝܢ ܕܝܥܝܢ ܐܢ[56] ܠܐ ܗܘ ܓܝ ܕܢܬܝܐ ܐܬܝܢ ܕܝܥܝܢ ܐܢ
ܕܥܪܒܐ ܡܛܪ ܐܬܐ ,ܘܡܕܡ[55] ܕܢܦܠ ܡܛܪ ,ܘܡܕܡ[54] ܕܢܗܘܐ ܫܪܒ ,ܘܡܕܡ
ܕܥܪܒܐ[Mt] ܕܢܗܘܐ ܫܪܒ ,ܘܡܕܡ[54] ܕܢܦܠ ܡܛܪ ,ܘܡܕܡ[55] ܕܢܬܐ ܥܪܒܐ
ܐ.ܘ.[1] ܕܢܗܘܐ ܨܚܝܐ

For the face of the earth and of the heaven too ye know, and when there will be a sirocco and when there will be rain; prophecies are made also about fine weather.

This stanza is not a quotation, but is as Mr Woods called it (p. 122) a ‘mixed paraphrase’ of Matt xvi 2, 3, and Luke xii 54—56. As a matter of fact it is only the last clause that seems to be taken from Matt., but the word ܨܚܝܐ ‘fine weather’ is decisive. S. Ephraim’s Gospel text therefore included the interpolated verses, which are read in the Peshitta, but not in *S* or *C*. This quotation, therefore, is not taken from the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. But neither is it from the Peshitta, for the word used corresponding to καύσων (Lk xii 55) is not ܫܪܒ ‘heat,’ as in the Peshitta, but ܥܪܒܐ ‘a sirocco.’ This is a somewhat rare word, ultimately derived from an Assyrian name for an oven. But it is used in this place by *C* and by *S* also[2].

Ephraim’s quotation here, therefore, presents similar features to those which we have noticed elsewhere; *viz.* it has the language and style of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* or Old Syriac, but an independent text: in other words, it has the characteristic features of the Syriac Diatessaron. From this passage we further gain the very interesting information that the Diatessaron, like every other text known to be connected with the West, recognised the interpolation

[1] I give the text from B.M. Add. 14571, *fol.* 33 v *a*. The Roman Edition has ܕܝܥܝܢ ܐܢ before ܐܦ ܠܐܦ ܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܪܥܐ, and inserts ܗܘ ܓܝ before ܐܬܝܢ so as to make ܘܡܕܡ two syllables.

[2] The reading of *S* given in Mrs Lewis’s *Some Pages* is ܕܢܗ̈ܘ̈ܐ, but Mrs Lewis’s transcript had ܕܢܗ̈ܘ̈ܐ and the edited reading was merely the result of misapprehension.

ὀψίας γενομένης κ.τ.λ. in Matt xvi 2, 3, which is absent from the best Greek texts (א B and Origen) as well as from the Old Syriac codices *C* and *S*.

Luke xiv 31 = *Rom.* v 487 A (' *Quotations*' 45)

ܟܬܝܒ ܕܡܢ ܒܝܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܙܠ ܠܡܥܒܕ ܩܪܒ ܥܡ ܚܒܪܗ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ.

It is written ' Who among kings goeth to do battle with another king his fellow?'

This is quite different both from Pesh. and from *S C*, and we really possess no evidence to shew whether Ephraim's wording is anything more than a paraphrase arranged to suit his 7-syllable metre. But as the quotation is expressly introduced for the sake of the word ܚܒܪ which means his 'fellow' or 'comrade' (though in this case used of an enemy), it is evident that the word must have stood in Ephraim's text. In Lk xiv 31 *S C* both have ܡܠܟܐ ܚܒܪܗ, while the Peshitta has ܡܠܟ ܠܚܒܪܗ.

Luke xv 4 f.; see on Matt xviii 12 f. (' *Quotations*' 45).

[Luke xvi 25 = *Letter to Publius*, B.M. Add. 7190, *fol.* 189 r (' *Quotations*' 71 f.)

ܒܪܝ ܕܟܪ ܕܩܒܠܬ ܛܒܬܐ ܒܚܝܝܟ ܘܒܣܟܘܠܬܟ. ܘܠܥܙܪ ܩܒܠ ܒܝܫܬܐ ܒܚܝܝܗ ܘܒܣܟܘܠܬܗ ܩܕܡ ܗܕܐ. ܘܗܫܐ ܠܐ ܡܨܐ ܠܡܐܬܐ ܘܠܡܥܘܠ ܠܟ ܒܥܝܢܝ ܒܥܝܢܝ ܕܥܠ ܕܠܐ ܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܚܢܢܐ

This is a free paraphrase, but one point is perfectly clear: in the last clause παρακαλεῖται is not rendered as in our Bibles "he is comforted" (or "resteth"), but "he is *besought*." The former rendering is that of the Peshitta and of *S*, while the latter is found in Aphraates and we may well believe it to be the rendering characteristic of the Diatessaron[1]. The actual words of Aphraates (*Wright*, p. 383) are

ܒܪܝ ܐܬܕܟܪ ܕܛܒ̈ܬܟ ܩܒ̈ܠܬ ܒܚܝܝܟ ܘܠܥܙܪ ܒܝܫ̈ܬܐ ܩܒ̈ܠ (*v. l.* ܐܬܒܥܐ) ܘܗܫܐ ܒܝܘܡܐ ܕܐܬ ܒܥܐ ܘܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܠܗ.

'My son, recollect that thou receivedst thy good things in thy life, and Lazar received his evil things: but to-day thou dost beseech of him, and he doth not help thee.'

The only other passage I know where this view of παρακαλεῖται is taken is Cyprian *Test* III 61, in which according to the better MSS we read: *Commemorare quoniam percepisti bona in uita tua, Eleazar autem mala: nunc hic* ROGATUR, *tu autem doles.* The rest of the Latin texts have *consolatur*[2].

Note also that the word used in the letter to Publius for the χάσμα of Lk xvi 26 is ܦܫܓܐ as in Aphraates 383, but in Pesh. and *S* we find the synonym ܦܬܓܡ. Curiously enough, the Harclean has ܦܫܓܐ and a similar word is used in the Palestinian Lectionary.

In *Lamy* iv 381 there is a reference to the story of Dives and Lazarus in which ܦܫܓܐ is again used, together with the picturesque detail that the rich man in torment asks that Lazarus may dip in water ܡܢ ܫܘܠܝ̈ܗ ‘the tip of his *little finger*’ and come and refresh him. Here *S C* and Pesh. have simply ‘the tip of his finger’ in accordance with the Greek.]

Luke xvii 31, 32 = *Overbeck* 127 (‘*Quotations*’ 45 f.)

ܡܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܫܘܩܐ ܘܢܟܣ̈ܘܗܝ ܒܒܝܬܐ ܐܠ ܢܥܠ ܠܐ ܢܣܒ̈ܘ ܠܗ̈ܘ. ܐܘ ܐܢ ܐܝܬ ܒܚܩܠ ܘܠܐ ܢܗܦܟ ܠܐ ܢܣܒ̈ܘ ܠܗ̈ܘ. ܐܬܘ ܘܕܟܪ̈ܘ ܐܢܬܬ ܠܘܛ.

‘If any one is in the street and his things in the house, let him not enter and take them. Recollect the wife of Lot.’

[1] The leaf of *C* which contained this passage is missing. It is also probable that Aphraates and Ephraim read ὅδε παρακαλεῖται with the Latins and the ‘Textus Receptus,’ while *S* and the Peshitta (with the great majority of Greek MSS) support ὧδε παρακαλεῖται.

[2] For the rendering of παράκλησιν in Lk vi 24 by *S* and Aphraates 390, see p. 109: in that verse *e* has *postulationem* and Tertullian *aduocationem.* Compare also ‘expectans *praecem* Isdrahel’ Lk ii 25 *e*.

Here again the wording is different both from Pesh. and from *S C*, and the text of the Diatessaron is not given for this passage in Moesinger. But the quotation from Ephraim is taken from a prose work, so that it may not be a simple paraphrase. The chief differences are that Ephraim has ܒܫܘܩܐ 'in the street' for *ἐπὶ τοῦ δώματος*, where the Syriac Biblical texts have ܒܥܠܝܬܐ 'in the roof' (Pesh.) or ܥܠ ܥܠܝܬܐ 'on the roof' (*S C*); and that Ephraim has ܐܬܕܟܪ 'recollect,' where the Syriac Biblical texts have ܐܬܦܟܪ 'remember.' The omissions made by Ephraim at the end of xvii 31 are probably of no importance, as he speaks of 'our Lord telling us not to turn back' (*cf ver.* 31[b]), just before his more formal quotation begins.

Luke xviii 13 = *Overbeck* 28 ('*Quotations*' 46)

ܕܫܡܝܐ ܠܡܚܙܐ ܠܡܪܡ ܥܝܢܘܗܝ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܠܗ ,ܡܟܣ ܒܪ ܚܘܒܐ ܗܘ ܕܥܠ ܟܠ.

He [*the publican*] *because of his fear was not daring to lift his eyes to heaven.*

The Greek has *οὐκ ἤθελεν...ἐπᾶραι*, and accordingly *S* and the Peshitta have *he was not willing to lift.* But *C* agrees with Ephraim, against the Greek.

[Similarly in *Lamy* iii 63 (see '*Quotations*' 70) we find

ܕܫܡܝܐ ܠܡܚܙܐ ܠܡܪܡ ܥܝܢܘܗܝ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܠܗ ܕܚܛܝܐ ܗܘ ܟܠ.

That sinner (*it says*) *did not dare to be looking to heaven.*]

Luke xxii 43, 44 = *Lamy* i 233, 655, *Nis.* 59[229] ('*Quotations*' 46 f.).

The passages from *Lamy* i 665 and *Nis.* 59 only shew in a general way that S. Ephraim's Gospel text contained the incident of the bloody sweat. In this it agrees with *C*, the Peshitta, and *Moes.* 235, but differs from *S*. The passage from *Lamy* i 233 goes more into detail and is worth quoting:

ܟܬܝܒ ܕܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܗ ܡܠܐܟ ܕܡܬܬܩܦ ܠܗ.

It is written that there appeared to him an angel strengthening him.

Here *C* and Ephraim agree in omitting 'from heaven' after 'angel,'

against the Peshitta and all other authorities, except a few patristic quotations (including Arius and Caesarius of Nazianzus). Wherever therefore *C* and Ephraim got their common text of this passage, it was not from the Peshitta.

Luke xxiii 38 = *Lamy* i 667 (*'Quotations'* 47).

ܫܦܝܪ ܐܢܬ ܦܝܠܩܐ.

Happy art thou, O tablet!

The same word ܦܝܠܩܐ, a Syriac adaptation of πιττάκιον, is used also in *S* and *C* for the ἐπιγραφὴ of the Gospel text. But the Peshitta has ܟܬܒܐ, which must have been regarded as a more literal translation, as it is here found also in the Harclean.

Luke xxiii 43 = *Lamy* i 667, 669 (*'Quotations'* 47)

ܦܬܚ ܒܟ ܠܓܘ ܥܕܢ ܘܥܠ. (667)

From thee [Golgotha] he opened and entered Eden.

ܢܣܒ ܡܪܢ ܐܢ ܒܟ ܒܥܕܢ. (669)

Our Lord took and set thee [the thief] in Eden.

It is evident from these passages that Ephraim read 'in the garden of Eden' with *C*, Aphraates, and the Diatessaron (*Moes.* 244, 245), not 'in Paradise' with *S* and the Peshitta.

Joh i 1 = *Lamy* ii 513 (*'Quotations'* 48)

ܒܫܘܪܝܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܐܡܪܐ.

In the beginning He was the Word.

This agrees verbally both with *C* and Pesh., but the English translation here given (which is demanded by the context) assumes ܡܐܡܪܐ 'word' to be feminine as in *C*, not masculine as in Pesh. *S* is deficient until Joh i 25.

Joh i 3 = *Rom.* iv 18 E (' *Quotations*' 48)

ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܫܘܚܢܗ ܟܠ ܗܘ ܒܗ ܗܘܐ ܘܒܠܚܘܕܘܗܝ ܠܐ ܐܦ ܚܕ ܡܕܡ ܗܘܐ.

The Evangelist saith of him 'Everything was in Him, and apart from Him not even one thing was.'

This exactly agrees with the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* as represented by *C*, but the Peshitta has ܟܠ ܒܝܕܗ ܗܘܐ, i.e. 'all was through Him' (following the Greek *πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο*), instead of ܟܠ ܕܒܗ ܗܘܐ. The rendering of *C* and Ephraim is also found in the Syriac *Theophania* i 24. Here Ephraim quotes the 'Evangelist' for his own statement, just as in the following words the authority of the 'Apostle' is brought forward. Dr Mercati has in this passage also kindly verified for me the reading of Cod. Vat. Syr. cx (*fol.* 15 r).

Joh i 3 = *Lamy* ii 513 f. (corrected from B.M. Add. 12164) (' *Quotations*' 48 f.)

ܕܐܡ. ܟܠ ܙܒܢ ܕܡܫܟ ܒܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܢܦܫܗ ܒܪ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܡܪ.
ܠܡ ܕܡ ܕܒܪܫܝܬ ܒܪܝܬ ܟܡ ܕܢ ܒܝܕܗ ܗܘܐ ܒܪܝܬ, ܟܠ ܒܗ.....
ܕܐܡܪ, ܒܪܝܬ ܒܝܕܗ ܗܘܐ ܕܐܬܒܪܝ ܡܕܡ ܠܐ ܐܦ ܚܕ ...

From the same [*S. Ephraim*]. *For John started to write that which our Lord endured in Himself. "Now he began with the history of the Son from where* (*it says*) *that 'Through Him had been created everything'.....John therefore left* (*the consideration of*) *that which through Him had been created..."*

These words, as may be seen from the opening formula, are taken from a collection of extracts. The collection is that made by Philoxenus at the end of his great and still unedited work on the Incarnation, written to prove 'that One Person of the Trinity became Man,' which is preserved in a Vatican MS and also in B.M. Add. 12164, a MS of the 6th century. It is perfectly clear that the version of Joh i 3 agrees with the Peshitta, and differs from *C* and Ephraim's quotation elsewhere, in having ܒܝܕܗ for *δι' αὐτοῦ*. At the same time, it differs both from *C* and the Peshitta in having ,ܒܪܝܬ 'created,' instead of

ܗܘܐ 'was,' to render ἐγένετο. This is not unparalleled in Syriac texts of the Gospel; in Mk ii 27 ,ܐܬܥܒܕ seems to stand for ἐγένετο in *S* and the Peshitta, but curiously enough not in the Diatessaron (*Moes.* 62); nor is there anything in the opening section of Ephraim's Commentary on the Diatessaron (*Moes.* 6) to suggest that it had ,ܐܬܥܒܕ in Joh i 3. Finally, Ephraim has ܕܐ ܗܘܐ in each place in agreement with *C*, where Pesh. has ܕܐ. The texts used by Ephraim in the beginning of the Fourth Gospel are thus diverse and their source is not at all clear, but none of them can be explained from the use of the Peshitta.

Joh i 14 = *Lamy* ii 743[1] ('*Quotations*' 49 f.)

ܡܠܬܐ ܕܐܒܐ ܐܬܐ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܒܝܬ ܐܬܐ ܠܒܘܫ ܓܘ ܒܝܬ ܐܚܪܢ. ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܠܒܝܬ ܐܙܠ ܘܐܬܡܠܝ ܒܝܬ ܕܟܝܐ ܡܢܝܗ. ܒܪܝܟ ܗܘ ܕܣܟܢ ܒܢ.

The Word of the Father came from His bosom, and clothed itself with a body in another bosom; from bosom to bosom it went forth, and pure bosoms have been filled from it: blessed is He that dwelleth in us!

It is obvious that this is a reference to Joh i 14 and 18, the reference to 'bosoms' shewing that the Biblical statement is in the mind of the writer and not a generalised reference to the Incarnation. But the diction in two very important particulars is that of *C* and not of the Peshitta; the Word is feminine, and It puts on not flesh (ܦܓܪܐ), but a body (ܦܓܪܐ). For ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο Pesh. has ܗܘܬ ܦܓܪܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ, but *C* has ܐܬܬ ܦܓܪܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ, and Aphraates twice quotes the verse in agreement with *C*. That the Peshitta gives the revision and *C* the original Syriac rendering is made highly probable by the fact that even the Peshitta has ܦܓܪܐ in all seven places where σὰρξ occurs in the sixth chapter of S. John. It is not necessary here to examine the reasons which led to the original adoption of the term 'body' in Joh i 13, 14, or to those which led to the subsequent rejection of it in favour of a more literal rendering of the Greek[2]. But I

[1] Repeated in *Lamy* iv 751.

[2] See Isho'dad as quoted by Dr J. R. Harris in *Fragments of the Commentary of Ephrem Syrus upon the Diatessaron*, p. 25. The Armenian altogether fails us here, for in Armenian մարմին *marmin* stands indifferently for σὰρξ and for σῶμα.

may remark that there is no surer test of the Biblical text used by a Syriac author than the phrase used for the Incarnation. On the one hand the Acts of Thomas, the Doctrine of Addai, Aphraates and S. Ephraim, constantly speak of our Lord having 'clothed Himself with a body'; on the other, Isaac of Antioch and the biographer of Rabbula agree with the Peshitta in speaking of the Word made *flesh*, a phrase which (so far as I know) never occurs in Syriac literature before the 5th century.

This passage also is quoted by Philoxenus (B.M. Add. 12164, *fol.* 131 r*a*), with the reading ܘܐܬܓܫܡ ܗܘܬ *'and became a body.'* This reading is exactly what is found in *C*, and as it is metrically satisfactory it may very well be the actual wording used by S. Ephraim.

Joh iii 34 = *Lamy* i 267 (*'Quotations'* 50 f.)

.ܪܘܚܐ ,ܡܕܡܪ ܠܐ ܒܡܫܝܚܐ ܪܚܡ ܠܐ ܐܒܘܗܝ ܝܗܒ ܗܘ ܠܗ

Therefore not by measure gave his Father to him the Spirit.

This passage presents several interesting variants in Syriac texts, which can best be exhibited by quotation in full. We have

ܪܘܚܐ ܡܕܡܪ ܠܐ ܒܡܫܝܚܐ ܪܚܡ ܠܐ *Ephr Aph* 122

ܡܫܝܚܐ ܪܚܡ ܪܘܚܐ ܒܡܫ „ „ „ *Aph* 123

ܡ̈ܫ̈ܝ̈ܚ̈ܐ ܪ̈ܚ̈ܡ̈ * * ܒ̈ܡ̈ ܪ̈ܚ̈ܠ̈ܨ̈ ̈ ̈

Joh vi 52 = *Rom.* vi 102 F (' *Quotations* ' 51)

ܗܢ ܓܒܪܐ ܦܓܪܗ ܢܬܠ ܠܢ.

How can this man his body give us?

This is a mere allusion, with ܠܡܐܟܠ 'to eat' at the end of the verse left out and ܐܝܟ ܗܢ ܓܒܪܐ (3 syllables) substituted for the Biblical ܡܫܟܚ ܐܢܫܐ (5 syllables), doubtless for metrical reasons. At the same time it agrees in giving the order found in Pesh. against ܦܓܪܗ ܢܬܠ ܠܢ in *S C.* The order here preserved in Pesh. and Ephraim is that of cod. 69, and partially that of other MSS of the 'Ferrar Group.'

Joh xii 2 (Luke x 40) = *Lamy* i 255 (' *Quotations* ' 51 f.)

ܒܕ ܡܪܬܐ ܡܫܬܕܠܐ ܒܫܡܫܬܐ

When Martha was occupied in serving...

This sentence belongs properly to Lk x 40 (ἡ δὲ Μάρθα περιεσπᾶτο περὶ πολλὴν διακονίαν), but it appears in Ephraim as part of the story of the supper given by Lazarus and his sisters to Christ. Thus it corresponds to Joh xii 2 (καὶ ἡ Μάρθα διηκόνει), a clause which is literally translated in the Peshitta. But *S* actually has in Joh xii 2 ܡܪܬܐ ܡܫܬܕܠܐ ܒܫܡܫܬܐ.

What makes the agreement here of *S* and Ephraim all the more remarkable is that the Diatessaron, as represented in *Moes.* 99, 204, and also in the Arabic, kept the two incidents quite distinct. But in Ephraim they are completely confused.

Joh xiii 5 = *Lamy* i 657 (' *Quotations* ' 52)

ܒܝ ܫܠܡ ܠܦܓܪܐ ܕܚܒܪܐ ܕܒܣܝܡܐ ܐܝܟ ܡܢܐ ܕܫܘܝܐ ܠܫܘܠܡܗ.

Our Lord purified the bodily frame of the brethren, in a dish which is the symbol of concord.

For εἰς τὸν νιπτῆρα in Joh xiii 5 the Peshitta has ܒܡܚܝܬܐ 'in a washing-bason,' but *S* and Aphraates have ܒܡܥܒܕ ܕܚܠܡܐ 'in a dish for washing.' This is evidently the text known to Ephraim.

The case is therefore exactly similar to Lk xxiii 38. There Ephraim and *S C* agreed in having ܦܝܛܩܝܐ, a word derived from *πιττάκιον*, but used as a translation of *ἐπιγραφή*. Here Ephraim agrees with Aphraates and *S* in having [ܟܬܒܬܐ] ܠܡܢܐ, where ܠܡܢܐ is derived from *λεκάνη*, but is used to translate *νιπτήρ*.

Joh xiv 23 = *Lamy* i 273 (*'Quotations'* 52)

ܡܢ ܕܚܒܝܢ ܠܝ. ܠܘܬܗ ܐܬܐ ܘܒܝܬܐ ܥܡܗ ܢܥܒܕ.

'He that loveth me, unto him we come, and an abode with him we will make.'

The latter part of this verse is quoted also in Aphraates 130. The one MS of Aphraates (Wright's A) agrees with Ephraim and with *S* in having ܢܥܒܕ 'we will make.' The other MS of Aphraates (Wright's B) has ܥܒܕܝܢ 'we make' with the Peshitta[1]. *C*, on the other hand, has ܐܬܐ ܐܢܐ 'I come' and ܐܥܒܕ 'I will make,' in agreement with Codex Bezae and the Old Latin MS *e*. I have but little doubt that the true reading of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* is given in *C*, and the reading of the Diatessaron is given in *S*, in Aphraates and in Ephraim.

Joh xv 1 = *Lamy* ii 359 (*cf 'Quotations'* 53 f.)

ܟܪܡܐ ܕܫܪܪܐ

The Vineyard of Truth.

A number of indications combine to shew that this is a reference to Joh xv 1; or rather, that this is a reference to the passage in the Diatessaron corresponding to Joh xv 1, and that the Diatessaron had *I am the true Vineyard...and ye are the vines.*

The context of the passage quoted is not in itself quite decisive. S. Ephraim says of the loss of Nisibis to the heathen Persians: "The vineyard that belonged to my Beloved in a corner of fertile land (Isaiah v 1), that vineyard hath the oppressor rooted up, and planted

[1] This is not the only occasion where cod. A of Aphraates gives a better reading than that of B or *B*.

a new one in its stead. The vineyards of time are worked more than the Vineyard of Truth: wrath hath made all vineyards desolate, that in the Vineyard of verity we may work." No doubt Ephraim has also in mind the Parable of the Vineyard (Matt xx), but the phrase in S. John is the only one which connects either Vine or Vineyard with "truth." *Vine of Truth* is of course only the Semitic turn of expression for *True Vine.* The word ܟܪܡܐ is the ordinary Syriac word for 'vineyard'; it sometimes appears to be used in the sense of ܓܦܢܐ 'vine,' but the passages quoted below from Aphraates and Cyrillona make it clear that 'vineyard' is here meant and not 'vine.'

Parallels to ܟܪܡܐ ܕܫܪܪܐ are to be found in the second Hymn on the Epiphany (*Lamy* i 21), nearly identical with that printed as the thirteenth Hymn *de Nativitate* (*Rom.* v 434). I give the text from B.M. Add. 14506, *fol.* 170 r

ܕܫܢܐ ܫܒܥܣܪ ܢܬܝܗܒ ܓܦܢܐ ܠܡܪܢ. ܟܪܡܐ ܕܫܪܪܐ ܐܝܟ ܙܪܥܐ ܢܬܝܗܒ ܫܠܡ ܠܟܪܡܐ ܘܒܪ ܟܪܡܐ ܕܫܪܪܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܥܢܒ ܒܪ. ܒܪܟ ܡܢ ܒܪܝܗ ܕܓܦܢܐ. ܟܪܡܐ ܕܫܪܪܐ ܕܐܬܥܒܕ ܒܗ ܘܢܛܪ ܦܪܝܗ ܘܐܝܬܝ ܦܪܝ ܠܡܪܝ ܟܪܡܐ. ܒܪܟ ܡܢ ܦܠܚܗ.

and from B.M. Add. 14512, *fol.* 25 v

ܕܫܢܐ ܫܒܥܣܪ ܢܬܝܗܒ ܓܦܢܐ ܠܡܪܢ. ܟܪܡܐ ܕܫܪܪܐ ܐܝܟ ܙܪܥܐ ܢܬܝܗܒ ܫܠܡ ܠܟܪܡܐ ܘܒܪ ܟܪܡܐ ܕܫܪܪܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܥܢܒ ܒܪ. ܒܪܟ ܡܢ ܒܪܝܗ ܕܓܦܢܐ. ܟܪܡܐ ܕܫܪܪܐ ܕܐܬܥܒܕ ܒܗ ܘܢܛܪ ܦܪܝܗ ܘܐܝܬܝ ܦܪܝ ܠܡܪܝ ܟܪܡܐ. ܒܪܟ ܡܢ ܦܠܚܗ.

In the seventeenth year let the Vine give thanks to our Lord; the Vineyard of verity—the souls were as the plants: He gave peace to the Vineyard and laid waste the vineyard, for that they bare wild-grapes —Blessed be its Uprooter!

In the seventeenth year let the Vine give thanks, which the wild boar of the wood hath eaten; the Vineyard of verity that husbanded itself and kept its fruits, and brought the fruits to the Lord of the Vineyard— Blessed be its Husbandman!

Here the reference to Joh xv 1 is as clear as that to Psalm lxxx 13. ܟܪܡܐ ܕܫܪܪܐ was doubtless chosen as being a syllable shorter than ܓܦܢܐ ܕܫܪܪܐ. The two stanzas appear to be alternatives. They are combined in *Rom.* v 434, but the phrase *Vine of Verity* is avoided by an unmetrical variation.

The verse is quoted again in a tract ascribed to S. Ephraim, which is extant only in Armenian (Ephr.*Arm* ii 288). After a quotation of Matt xxi 33, we read: "And again in another place He says *I am the Vineyard, and ye are the vine.*"[1]

Besides these passages from Ephraim we find other instances of the same rendering in early Syriac literature. The quotation of Cyrillona which includes the words ܐܢܐ ܟܪܡܐ ܕܫܪܪܐ ܗܘ is given below[2]. And Aphraates says, with unmistakeable reference to Joh xv 1 (*Wright*, p. 288):

ܗܘ ܟܪܡܐ ܕܫܪܪܐ ܐܢܐ ܟܪܡܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܒܘܗܝ ܕܫܪܪܐ ܐܢܐ ܟܪܡܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܒܘܗܝ ܕܫܪܪܐ ܗܘ

'his judgement.' How likely an early Syriac text was to have the suffix here is shewn by Joh xvi 8, where *S* has 'He will reprove the world in its sins and about his righteousness,' against the Greek and the Peshitta.

Joh xvii 11 = *Rom.* vi 122 C ('*Quotations*' 54)

ܐܒܝ ܛܪ ܘܢܛܪ ܐܢܘܢ

My Father, take (and) keep them.

B.M. Add. 12176 reads ܘܢܛܪ 'and keep.' Pesh. has ܐܒܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܛܪ ܐܢܘܢ 'Holy Father, keep them,' while *S* has ܐܒܝ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܘܛܒ ܛܪ ܐܢܘܢ 'My holy Father, take (and) keep them.' ܩܕܝܫܐ had of course to be dropped in making a 5-syllable verse, and its omission leaves just five syllables both in *S* and in Pesh. It is therefore significant that Ephraim should give the reading of *S* and not of the Peshitta.

Joh xix 30 = *Lamy* i 229 ('*Quotations*' 55)

ܐܡܪ ܗܐ ܟܠ ܡܬܓܡܪ ܐܡܪ ܗܘ ܕܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܫܠܡ.

As he said 'Lo, everything is finished.'

Neither *S* nor *C* is here extant, nor is the verse quoted in Moesinger, but the Arabic Diatessaron (lii 4) and the Armenian vulgate have 'Everything has been finished.' The Peshitta has only ܡܬܓܡܪ ܟܠ, so that here again Ephraim appears to be following the Diatessaron.

Joh xx 24 = *Rom.* vi 16 F ('*Quotations*' 55)

ܬܐܘܡܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܕܬܐܘܡܐ

And Judas Thomas.

This is the reading of the Vatican MS on which the Roman Edition professes to be based, as given in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* I 101, and it is also the reading of B.M. Add. 12176; the printed text changes it into ܬܐܘܡܐ ܕܝܠܗ, whereby both the metre is spoilt and the

connexion with Old Syriac nomenclature is lost. Judas, or Judas Thomas, is the regular name for the apostle in the *Acta Thomae*, and the 'Judas not Iscariot' of John xiv 22 appears as '*Judas Thomas*' in *C* and '*Thomas*' in *S*. The name Judas Thomas also occurs in the Syriac Doctrine of Addai, and it was doubtless from a Syriac source that Eusebius got the Ἰούδας ὁ καὶ Θωμᾶς of *HE* i 13.

On the 50 (or 55) passages quoted and discussed in the preceding pages must rest the decision as to what text of the Gospel was used by S. Ephraim. For my own part, I cannot think that the occasional coincidences of language with the Peshitta against the Sinai Palimpsest and the Curetonian, amounting to eight in all, are of a character to suggest the actual use of the Syriac Vulgate[1]. Most of them occur in passages which otherwise present notable coincidences with the Sinai Palimpsest or the Curetonian, or else differ widely from all known Syriac texts of the Gospel.

Against these are to be set at least three times as many agreements of S. Ephraim with *S* or *C* against the Peshitta, some of them of most striking and unmistakable character. The phrases 'My Son and My beloved' at the Baptism, 'the sons' table' in the story of the Syro-Phoenician woman, the statements that Hanna the prophetess had lived only seven *days* with her husband and that the publican in the Temple did not *dare* to lift up his eyes to heaven, the words used for the *tablet* on the Cross and for the *dish* which Christ used to wash the disciples' feet, the promise of *Eden* to the penitent thief, the name of *Judas* Thomas, and last but by no means least the statement that the Word became *a body*—all these S. Ephraim shares with 'Old Syriac' MSS, and with Old Syriac MSS or the Diatessaron alone.

There are not wanting also marked differences between S. Ephraim and these MSS, and these differences suggest that it was not the Old Syriac version of the Four Gospels, the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, that S. Ephraim was using, but the Diatessaron. Whatever the origin of the Syriac Diatessaron may have been, and I see no reason to doubt

[1] The coincidences referred to are Matt xvi 2 (ܥܠ ܦ̈ܪܫܐ), Matt xxi 41 (ܠܐܢܫ), Mk xii 42 (ܚܕ ܡܢ), Lk vii 43 (ܗܘ ܕܫܒܩ), Lk xii 49 (*om.* ܐܬ ܠܐ), Lk xiv 31 (ܡܬܚܙܐ), Joh i 3 (ܡܢ ܕܟܘܢ) and Joh vi 52 (*order*).

the correctness of the tradition that it was the Harmony made by Tatian the disciple of Justin Martyr, it is certain that in S. Ephraim's day the wording of the text was very largely the wording of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. The agreements of S. Ephraim with *S* and *C* are all explicable on the supposition that he was using the Diatessaron, while in many of the differences the reading attested by S. Ephraim is known on other grounds to have been that of the Diatessaron. This is the case with the curious statements that our Lord spat on His fingers when healing the deaf man, that He was actually thrown down from the cliff by the people of Nazareth, and that He said at the end 'Lo, everything is finished.' S. Ephraim also agrees with the express testimony of Aphraates, who seems to have used the Diatessaron habitually if not exclusively, that Christ said to the widow's son 'Youth, youth, arise!'—a form of the saying otherwise only found in the West.

I do not shrink from going yet further, and using the testimony of S. Ephraim to establish the presence in the Diatessaron of the saying about the Face of the Sky and the episode of the Bloody Sweat, neither of which belong to the true text of the Old Syriac version of the Four Gospels, though found in the Peshitta. The latter of these passages is quoted in the Commentary on the Diatessaron and has found its way into the Curetonian MS, but the former one does not happen to be mentioned in the Commentary and it is omitted in the Curetonian MS as well as in the Sinai Palimpsest. Thus it is only by the chance quotation of S. Ephraim that it is attested for any ancient Syriac text. At the same time in each of these two important passages the text as quoted by S. Ephraim has marked divergences from the Peshitta, so that these quotations in S. Ephraim cannot be employed to prove his use of that version.

These quotations, in fact, are exactly parallel to what we have already noticed in Aphraates. Just as in the quotation by Aphraates of words corresponding to Matt v 44, Lk vi 27, we find an 'interpolation' supported by Aphraates and the Peshitta but rejected by *S* and *C*, where nevertheless the Syriac renderings of Aphraates and the Peshitta seriously differ; so also Ephraim and the Peshitta agree in having words corresponding to Matt xvi 2, 3, which are omitted by *S* and *C*. In each case also the explanation is the same: *S* and *C* are

faithfully reporting the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, while Aphraates and Ephraim are reporting the Diatessaron. And, if I may be allowed to wander into a subject which belongs more properly to another chapter, in each case it is a question of a 'Western' reading. The Diatessaron contains Western elements, brought by Tatian from Rome, the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* represents in the main an Eastern text. The Western elements in the Peshitta are of course not drawn from the Diatessaron, but from the mixed Greek texts current all over the Greek-speaking world from the middle of the 4th century onward.

The Commentary of Abbâ (*Wright* 38).

Abbâ (or Abhā) was a disciple of S. Ephraim, and the writer of a Commentary on the Gospel. A few extracts are preserved from this work in B.M. Add. 17194, which have been edited by Dr Rendel Harris in his book called 'Fragments of the Commentary of Ephrem Syrus upon the Diatessaron,' pp. 92–94.

B.M. Add. 17194, *fol.* 48 v = *Harris*, p. 93

ܡܢ ܐܒܐ ܬܠܡܝܕܗ ܕܡܪܝ ܐܦܪܝܡ ܡܢ ܦܘܫܩܢܐ ܕܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ.

ܗܘ ܕܗܘܐ ܒܡܫܡܪܬܐ ܘܒܢܡܘܣܐ ܟܕ ܩܪܒ ܩܕܡ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܬܪ ܝܘܡܝ ܐܘ ܒܙܒܢ ܙܒܢ ܟܕ ܩܛܪ ܒܝܪܚܐ ܫܒܥܝܐ ...

Out of S. Abba, the disciple of S. Ephraim, from the Explanation of the Gospel.

Now it came to pass when he was serving in the order and in the custom of the priests (Lk i 8, 9), *either for a month of days or from time to time, from the fact that he brought in incense in the seventh month.....*

Here we find several agreements with *S* against the Peshitta. Abba and *S* have to *bring in* incense; Pesh. has to *put* (ܣܡ) incense. Abba and *S* (*ver.* 9) speak of the *priests*, where Pesh. has the *priesthood*. Still more significant is the word for *serving*. Abba and *S* have ܫܡܫܢܐ, i.e. 'ministering.' But in the language of Ritual this means doing the work of a *deacon*: Zacharia was a *priest*, so the Peshitta uses the technical word ܟܗܢ, i.e. acting as a ܟܗܢܐ or *priest*. Is not this liturgical precision a mark of post-Nicene times?

B.M. Add. 17194, *fol.* 74 v = *Harris*, p. 94

ܕܐܡܪ ܐܒܐ ܬܠܡܝܕܗ ܕܐܦܪܝܡ [ܡ] ܡܢ ܦܘܫܩܢܐ ܕܐܝܢܓܠܝܘܢ.
ܠܐ ܬܗܒܘ ܩܕܫܐ ܠܟܠܒܐ ܘܠܐ ܬܪܡܘ ܡܪܓܢܝܬܟܘܢ ܩܕܡ
ܚܙܝܪܐ...

Out of S. Abba, the disciple of S. Ephraim, from the Explanation of the Gospel.

Give not a holy thing to dogs, neither cast pearls before swine...

This is word for word with Matt vii 6 as read in *C*, and as implied in the *Martyrdom of Habbib* quoted below. The Peshitta, in accordance with the Greek, has ܡܪܓܢܝܬܐ ‘*your* pearls,’ but it is worth noting that three of Mr Gwilliam's MSS drop the suffix—one of the few examples of ‘Old Syriac’ readings surviving in the codices of the Syriac Vulgate.

The third passage cited by Dr Harris (p. 94) does not keep close enough to the Biblical text to be of value for our present purposes.

Cyrillona (*Wright* 39–42).

The works ascribed to Mar Balai (*Wright* 39) do not appear to contain any quotations of textual value from the Gospels, but the surviving poems of Cyrillona, edited by Bickell in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. xxvii, pp. 566–598, contain several noteworthy allusions.

Lk xxii 15 = *Cyrillona* ii 361–364 (p. 574)

ܒܥܝܬ ܐܢܐ ܒܥܝܬ ܥܡ ܟܘܢ ܦܨܚܐ ܗܕܐ ܩܕܡ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܡܣܒܠ ܒܝ.

I have indeed longed to eat with you this Passover before ever I suffer.

This agrees word for word with *C*, except that *C* omits ܐܢܐ. *S* differs from *C* only by reading ܠܟ ܐܟܘܠ for ܐܟܘܠ. On the other hand, Pesh. has ܐܟܘܠ instead of ܐܒܥܝ, it puts ܥܡ ܟܘܢ ܐܢܐ before ܒܥܝܬ ܒܥܝܬ, and reads ܕܐܬ ܐ for ܠܐ ܕ. The preference given by Cyrillona to ܠܐ ܕ, and his insertion of ܐܢܐ, admit of explanation as due to

metrical necessities; but ܐܝܬܝ and ܪܘܚܐ are both of two syllables, and the change of order does not alter the rhythm, so that in these points there is a true agreement with the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe.*

Joh xiii 5 = *Cyrillona* i 6 (p. 566)

ܪܚܝܩܐ ܕܣܝܡ ܠܡܝ ܥܒܐ

And He carried a dish for washing.

Here Cyrillona agrees with Aphraates, Ephraim, and *S*, in the word used to translate *νιπτήρ*. See above p. 142.

Joh xiv 26 = *Cyrillona* iii 158–161 (p. 579)

ܪܘܚܐ ܕܫܪܪ ܥܡ ܠܫܢܝܗ. ܦܪܩܠܛܐ ܥܡ ܓܠܝܐ ܕܝܠܗ.

The Spirit shall come with His tongues, and the Paraclete with His revelations.

This is not a quotation, and the reference is as much to Acts ii 3 ff. as to Joh xiv, but it is worth notice that the Spirit is masculine. In this point, therefore, the theological language of Cyrillona agrees with that of the Peshitta, against *S C* and the *Doctrina Apostolorum* (see above, p. 108).

Joh xv 1 = *Cyrillona* iii 289–290

ܐܢܐ ܓܦܬܐ ܕܫܪܪܐ. ܘܐܒܝ ܗܘ ܐܝܟܪܐ ܕܝܠܗ.

I am the Vineyard of truth; and my Father, He is the husbandman.

In reading ܓܦܬܐ instead of ܓܦܢܐ Cyrillona agrees with Aphraates and Ephraim against *S* and the Peshitta. Moreover he makes it quite clear that by ܓܦܬܐ he meant 'vineyard' and not 'vine,' for in iii 321 f. we read: 'The robbers have entered the vineyard—they stole leaves and touched not the grapes,' and again 'The foxes tore between the vines (ܓܦܢܐ), and one only of them withered,' i.e. Judas. And again, in ii 256 (p. 573), Cyrillona says of the disciples after Judas had left, that there remained ܓܦܢܐ ܕܓܦܬܐ ܕܫܪܪܐ ܠܝܬ ܒܗܘܢ ܥܢܒܐ ܕܒܪ 'the vines of the vineyard without a wild-grape.' It is therefore certain that the words of Christ familiar to Cyrillona were 'I am the Vineyard and ye are the vines,' and not 'I am the Vine and ye are the branches.'

Joh xvii 11 = *Cyrillona* iii 395 (p. 582)

ܐܒܝ ܣܒ ܗܢܘܢ ܢܛܪ

My Father, take (*and*) *keep them.*

This is identical with the quotation of Ephraim (*Rom.* vi 122 c), already discussed on p. 146, and to it the same remarks apply.

The Doctrine of Addai (*Wright* 43).

The historical, or legendary, work known as the *Doctrine of Addai* is our chief authority for the early history of Christianity in Edessa. In its present shape, with which we are here alone concerned, the *Doctrine* is a product of the latter half of the 4th century, contemporary with S. Ephraim and Cyrillona. The Gospel allusions are quoted by the pages of Phillips' edition.

Matt xviii 10 = *Phillips* ܟܕ

ܐܠܗܝܗܘܢ ܕܥܠܝܢ ܩܕܡ ܦܪܨܘܦܗ ܕܐܒܐ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ ܕܠܐ ܚܙܝܢ ܐܢܘܢ ܥܠܠܝܐ ܕܐܢܘܢ.

The little lambs, whose angels see the countenance of the Father who is not seen.

This agrees with *C* and Pesh. in having ܦܪܨܘܦܗ 'countenance,' while *S* has ,ܐܦܝܗ 'face.'

Matt xxiii 38, Lk xiii 35 = *Phillips* ܟܐ

ܗܐ ܒܝܬܟܘܢ ܫܪܝܐ ܠܟܘܢ.

Lo, your house is left a desolation.

This agrees with $S^2/_2$ and *C* in having ܒܝܬܟܘܢ where Pesh. $^2/_2$ has ܒܝܬܟܘܢ ܗܕܐ. It agrees with $S^2/_2$ against *C* and Pesh. $^2/_2$ in omitting ܠܟܘܢ after ܒܝܬܟܘܢ. It agrees with Pesh. $^2/_2$ in having ܫܪܝܐ which omitted by $S^2/_2$; but *C* has ܫܘܬܐ 'desolate.'

Matt xxvii 52 = *Phillips* ܟܐ

ܘܠܐ ܒܐܢܫ ܐܬܬ ܩܝܡܬܐ ܕܙܕܝܩܝܢ ܘܬܡܝܡܝܢ ܕܐܬܪܥܝܘ ܘܩܡܘ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܩܒܪܐ.

And not by a man had come the resurrection of upright and righteous persons.

This is an allusion to Matt xxvii 52, where we read that 'many bodies of the *saints* arose.' In agreement with the Greek the Peshitta has ܩܕܝܫܐ 'holy ones,' but *S* (followed by the Ethiopic) has ܙܕܝܩܐ 'righteous ones,' alone among our authorities. The *Doctrine of Addai* goes on to say that the Veil of the Temple was rent ܡܢ ܣܘܦܐ ܠܣܘܦܐ 'from end to end.' This recalls the singular phrase ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܠܒܬܪ of Matt xxvii 51 *S*, much more than ܡܢ ܠܥܠ ܠܬܚܬ, the somewhat commonplace rendering of *ἀπ' ἄνωθεν ἕως κάτω* adopted in the Peshitta.

Matt xxviii 19 = *Phillips* ⁊

ܗܕܐ ܗܘ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܗܟܝ ܒܫܒܚ ܘܢܫܒܚ ܘܢܬܘܕܐ ܠܗ ܥܡ ܐܒܘܗܝ ܘܢܫܒܚ ܘܢܩܕܫ ܠܪܘܚ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܥܡ ܐܒܐ ܘܒܪܐ ܘܪܘܚ ܩܘܕܫܐ. ܗܐ ܗܟܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܢ ܗܘ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܢ ܠܡܥܡܕ ܠܟܠ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܡܗܝܡܢܝܢ ܒܫܡܗ ܕܐܒܐ ܘܒܪܐ ܘܪܘܚ ܩܘܕܫܐ.

This Jesus the Messiah, therefore, we preach and announce, and with him his Father we praise and his Spirit of Godhead we exalt and worship, because thus we were commanded by him, that we should baptize and sanctify them that believe in the Name of Father and Son and Holy Spirit.

This passage is of importance, as it distinctly refers to Christ the command to baptize in the name of the Trinity. We may therefore conclude that the ordinary text of Matt xxviii 19 had a place in the Diatessaron.

[Mk] xvi 15 = *Phillips* ⁊

ܐܟܪܙ ܒܟܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܠܒܫܪܗ ܕܐܝܢܘܢ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܟܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ

We have been commanded to preach His gospel in all the creation.

This passage clearly proves that the *Doctrine of Addai* agrees with Aphraates, the Peshitta, and *C*, in recognising the 'longer conclusion' to S. Mark's Gospel, omitted by *S*.

A reference to Lk ix 62 in *Phillips* ⁊ proves that the Doctrine,

like all other Syriac documents, supports the ordinary text in that verse. More interest attaches to

Lk xxiii 48 *ad fin.* = *Phillips* ﻉ *f.*

ﻟﻪ ﻣﻮﻣﺎ ﻟﻪ ﻟﻌﻪ .ﻣﻮﻣﺎ ﻣﺪﻳﻨﺘﻬﻮ ﻣﺪﻳﻨﺎ ﻣﻮﻣﺎ. ﻣﻊ ﻟﻪ ﻣﻮﻣﺎ ﻟﻌ
.ﻣﻮﻣﺎ ﻟﻬﻠﻔﻴﻢ ﻗﻪ ﻟﻌﻮﻣﺎ

(*If the Jews had not known Jesus to have been the Son of God,*) *they would not have proclaimed the desolation of their city, nor would have let fall the Woes against themselves.*

This is a reference to the ﻣﻮﻣﺎ ﻟﻪ ﻣﺪﻳﻨﺎ ﻟﻢ ,ﻩ 'Woe to us! what hath befallen us?' added at the end of Lk xxiii 48 by *S* and *C* against the Peshitta and the Greek. But it also contains a phrase about the desolation of Jerusalem which is not added in either *S* or *C*, but is found in Ephraim's Commentary (*Moesinger* 246) and reappears in the Latin Cod. Sangermanensis (*g*), a MS of mixed text that certainly contains an element akin to the text of Tatian's work.

In this instance, therefore, the *Doctrine* is based neither on the Peshitta nor on the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, but on the Diatessaron.

Joh xiii 31 = *Phillips* ﻱ

ﻣﻠﻜﻪ .ﻣﻨﻨﺎ ﻣﻮﻣﺎ ﻣﻦ ﻟﻌﻠﻌﻪ ﻣﻮﻣﺎ ﻟﻌﻠﻌﻪ ﻟﻢ. ﻣﻮﻣﺎ ﻟﻌﻠﻌﻪ ﻣﻦ ﻣﻨﻨﺎ ﻟﻌ
ﻣﻮﻣﺎ ﻟﻌﻠﻌﻪ ﻟﻢ. ﻟﻌﻠﻌﻪ ﻟﻌﻠﻌﻪﻣﻮﻣﺎ.

As he himself said to us 'Lo, henceforth hath the Son of Man been glorified, and God who glorifieth Himself in him by miracles and by wonders.'

This quotation agrees markedly with *S* against Pesh. In agreement with *S* it has ﻟﻌﻠﻌﻪ for ﻣﻮﻣﺎ and inserts a relative after ﻣﻠﻜﻪ. But it has the ordinary phrase ﻣﻦ ﻣﻨﻨﺎ for 'Son of Man,' and not the rarer form ﻣﻦ ﻣﻨﻨﺎ here retained by *S*.

Joh xiv 2, 23 = *Phillips* ﻣﻪ

.ﻣﻠﻜﻪ.....ﻣﻮﻣﺎ ﻣﻪ ﻣﻠﻌﻪ ﻟﻌﻠﻌﻪ ﻣﻦ ﻣﻨﻨﺎ ﻟﻌﻠﻌﻪ ﻟﻌﻠﻌﻪ ﻟﻌﻠﻌﻪ.
ﻣﻮﻣﺎ ﻟﻌﻠﻌﻪ.

The Places that the Son hath gone to make ready....He, lo, is gone to make ready for his worshippers blessed Abodes.

For μονή in Joh xiv 23 all Syriac authorities have ܡܕܝܢܬܐ, but in xiv 2 *S* has ܡܕܝܢܚܐ, followed by Aphraates 437. It would be difficult to say which of the two words was really implied by the allusion in the *Doctrine of Addai*.

The Martyrdom of Habbib (*Wright* 43).

The *Hypomnemata of Sharbel* and the *Martyrdom of Barsamya* contain no textual allusions to the Gospels, but there is one quotation in the Martyrdom of Habbib published by Cureton in *Ancient Syriac Documents*.

Matt vii 6 = ASD ב״ד[15, 16]

ܕܟܬܝܒ ܠܢ ܕܠܐ ܢܬܠ ܩܕܫܐ ܠܟܠܒܐ. ܘܠܐ ܢܫܕܪ ܡܪܓܢܝܬܐ ܩܕܡ ܚܙܝܪܐ.

It is written for us that we should not give a holy thing to dogs, nor cast pearls before swine.

ܡܪܓܢܝܬܐ is also read by *C*, but Pesh. has ܡܪܓܢܝܬܟܘܢ 'your pearls.'

Marutha and the Book of Martyrs (*Wright* 44–46).

The *Book of Martyrs*, containing accounts of those who suffered for the Christian faith in the Persian Empire under Sapor II and his successors during the latter half of the 4th century, was compiled by Mârûthâ, bishop of Maipercat or Martyropolis, early in the 5th century. It was edited by S. E. Assemani in 1748, and again in 1891 by Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, vol. ii, pp. 57–396. Prefixed to the Acta in Bedjan's edition is a preliminary discourse, which contains several quotations and allusions to the Gospel, and it is from this discourse that most of the passages quoted below are taken.

Matt ii 18 = *Bedjan* ii 74[3]

ܩܠܐ ܒܪܡܬܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܒܟܝܐ ܘܒܝܠܠܐ ܘܒܡܪܪ ܒܟܝܐ.

'A voice in Ramtha was heard, wailing and weeping and bitter groaning.'

This is partly accommodated to the Peshitta text of Jerem xxxi 15, in that it has ܡܪܝܪܐ before ܒܟܝܐ, and 'bitter' instead of 'much.' But neither in Jeremiah nor in the Peshitta text of S. Matthew is there anything corresponding to the 'groaning' (ܐܢܚܬܐ) found in *S C* and Marutha. Moreover they agree in having 'wailing and weeping,' while Pesh. has 'weeping and wailing.'

Matt iii 17 = *Bedjan* ii 120[11]

ܗܢܐ ܗܘ ܒܪܝ ܚܒܝܒܝ ܕܒܗ ܣܒܝܬ ܠܡܥܒܕ.

'This is my Son and my Beloved, in whom I am well pleased.'

The Voice from heaven at the Baptism is quoted in exact agreement with Ephraim (see above, p. 116) and with *Moesinger* 99. It agrees with the Peshitta and the Greek in having the second person, but like *S* and *C*, wherever extant, it renders ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός by 'My Son and my Beloved.'

Matt vi 24 = *Bedjan* ii 66[15]

ܠܐ ܠܟ ܥܒܕܝܢ ܠܬܪܝܢ ܡܪܐ̈ ܐܠܐ ܗܘ ܕܢܣܢܐ ܠܚܕ ܘܠܗܘ ܕܢܪܚܡ ܠܚܕ.
ܠܐ ܠܟ ܥܒܕܝܢ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܘܠܡܡܘܢܐ.

'Ye cannot serve two lords: else the one ye will love and the other ye will hate. Ye cannot serve God and mammon.'

This agrees with *C* in Matt vi 24 and *S* in Lk xvi 13 in having the characteristic ܐܠܐ 'else,' instead of two clauses separated by ܐܘ 'or,' as in the Peshitta.

Matt xvi 18 = *Bedjan* ii 81[15]

ܥܠ ܗܕܐ ܟܐܦܐ ܐܒܢܐ ܠܥܕܬܝ. ܘܬܪܥܐ ܕܫܐܘܠ ܠܐ
ܢܬܟܠܒܢ.

'On this Stone I will build my Church, and the gate-bars of Sheol shall not overpower it.'

This exactly agrees with Eus. *Theoph*^{syr} iii 27. *S* is here not extant, and *C* and the Peshitta have ܬܪܥܐ ܕܫܐܘܠ 'the doors of Sheol,' but Ephraim also attests 'gate-bars' (see above, p. 119).

Matt xviii 7 = *Bedjan* ii 67[3]

ܘܝ ܠܗ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܡܢ ܣܟܢܬܐ ܕܐܬܝܢ.

'Woe to the world from the offences that come!'

This agrees exactly with *S* and *C*, and they are the only known texts which add 'that come' to 'offences.'

Lk xii 16, 19, 20 = *Bedjan* ii 313[5–9] (*Assemani* i 127)

ܗܘ ܕܟܬܝܒ ܥܠ ܗܘ ܓܒܪܐ ܥܬܝܪܐ ܕܐܪܥܗ ܐܬܝܬ ܠܗ ܣܓܝ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܢܦܫܝ ܢܦܫܝ ܐܟܘܠ ܘܫܬܘ ܘܚܕܘ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܣܟܠܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܒܠܠܝܐ ܢܦܫܟ ܡܬܒܥܝܢ ܡܢܟ ܘܗܠܝܢ ܕܐܬܟܣܝܬ ܠܡܢ ܢܗܘܐ.

...that which is written of that Rich Man, whose land brought in to him much produce, and he said 'O my soul! eat and drink and be merry.' And at the conclusion of his word it was said to him: 'Senseless one! Lo, in this night thy soul they require of thee; this which thou hast made ready, whose will it be?'

This quotation is taken not from Marutha's preliminary discourse, but from the main body of the *Book of Martyrs*, so that it is also to be found in S. E. Assemani's edition. The text is in very close agreement with Aphraates 381 and with S. Ephraim's Letter to Publius (quoted above, p. 133). This is especially marked in the rendering of ἄφρων by ܣܟܠ ܠܐ, instead of the ܛܦܫܐ ܕܠܒܐ found in *S C* and Pesh.

Lk xii 47, 48 = *Bedjan* ii 64[15]

ܘܐܡܪ ܡܪܢ: ܥܒܕܐ ܕܝܕܥ ܨܒܝܢܗ ܕܡܪܗ ܘܠܐ ܐܬܬܟܢ ܠܗ ܘܠܐ ܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܨܒܝܢܗ ܐܬܟܢܫ ܠܗ ܒܟܬܝܪ. ܘܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܝܕܥ ܘܥܒܕ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܗ ܠܐ ܐܬܟܢܫ ܠܗ ܒܥܠܝܐ.

And our Lord said 'The slave that knoweth the will of his lord and prepared not for him according to his will is flogged with many stripes, and he which knoweth not is flogged with few.'

ܐܬܟܢ 'prepared' is the word used in Lk xii 47 by *S* and *C*, but the Peshitta has ܥܒܕ 'made ready.'

Lk xxi 14, Matt x 20, Lk xxi 12, 13 = *Bedjan* 118[3]

ܡܪܝܐ ܕܢܒܝܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܐ ܬܗܘܘ ܩܕܡ ܙܒܢܐ ܡܐ ܕܬܐܡܪܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܠܐ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܐܠܐ ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܡܡܠܠ ܥܡܟܘܢ ܘܥܠ ܕܝܢ ܕܪܕܘܦܢ ܐܡܪ ܕܢܣܒܘ ܒܟܘܢ ܐܝܕܝܗܘܢ ܘܢܪܕܘܦܘܢ ܠܟܘܢ ܘܢܡܣܪܘܢ ܠܟܘܢ ܠܒܝܬ ܟܢܫܝܬܐ ܘܠܒܝܬ ܢܛܪܐ ܘܢܝܬܝ ܠܟܘܢ ܩܕܡ ܡܠܟܐ ܘܫܠܝܛܐ ܕܬܟܦܘܢ ܒܫܡܝ ܠܣܗܕܘܬܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܘܠܥܡܡܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܐܡܪ ܕܬܗܘܘ ܩܕܡ ܙܒܢܐ ܡܐ ܕܬܐܡܪܘܢ ܘܠܐ ܬܗܘܘ ܗܓܝܢ ܠܡܐ ܕܬܬܒܥܘ ܠܗ ܠܡܐ ܕܠܐ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܐܠܐ ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܡܡܠܠ ܥܡܟܘܢ

Jesus, the Lord of the Prophets, who said 'Do not meditate before the time what ye shall say to them, because not ye are speaking, but the Holy Spirit speaketh for you.' And concerning our persecution He said 'They will lay hands on you and persecute you, and will deliver you up to the synagogues and to keepers, and they will bring you before kings and governors, that ye may deny my Name for a testimony.'

This differs considerably both from *S* and *C* and from the Peshitta. No other authority has ܢܛܪܐ 'keepers' for φυλακάς, instead of ܒܝܬ ܐܣܘܪܐ 'prisons,' nor is there any other trace of the curious paraphrase in the last line. But the first part of the quotation, corresponding to Lk xxi 14, Matt x 20, Mk xiii 11 is quoted in Aphraates 415, with some striking points of resemblance to the text before us. Aphraates has

ܠܐ ܬܗܘܘ ܩܕܡ ܙܒܢܐ ܕܬܐܡܪܘܢ ܡܐ ܕܬܥܒܕܘܢ. ܐܢܐ ܐܬܠ ܠܟܘܢ ܦܘܡܐ ܘܚܟܡܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܢܟܠ ܟܠ ܒܥܠܝ ܕܝܟܘܢ ܠܡܩܡ ܠܗ. ܡܛܠ ܕܠܐ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܐܠܐ ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܐܒܘܟܘܢ ܗܘ ܕܡܡܠܠ ܒܟܘܢ.

Do not meditate before the time what ye shall speak and how ye shall make excuse, and I will give you a mouth and wisdom that your enemies will not be able to conquer you, because not ye are speaking but the Holy Spirit of your Father—it speaketh in you.

This is on the whole nearer to Lk xxi 14, but there is the same combination of parallel texts, and the same elaborate rendering of προμελετᾶν is common to Marutha and Aphraates. We can hardly doubt that it was also found in the Diatessaron.

It is worth a passing note that in this same passage of the *Acta Martyrum* (Bedjan ii 118) Marutha, while quoting the *Gospel* for our

Lord and the *Epistles* for S. Paul, only quotes Acts iii 19 for S. Peter. The Catholic Epistles apparently formed no part of the New Testament as known to him. This agrees with what we know from other sources about the Canon of the New Testament in the early Syriac Church.

Lk xxiii 48 = *Bedjan* ii 58[6]

ܘܝ ܠܢ ܡܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܢ

Woe to us! What hath happened to us?

This is not a formal quotation: it goes on to say 'For our eyes have seen the slaughter of the saints.' But it agrees exactly with the words put into the mouth of the spectators of the Crucifixion by all Syriac texts except the Peshitta.

Joh x 29 = *Bedjan* ii 120[10]

ܐܒܐ ܕܝܠܝ ܪܒ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܗܘ.

'The Father who begat me is greater than all.'

This singular misquotation has no parallel elsewhere and seems to be due to a reminiscence of Psalm ii 7.

Joh xiv 1 = *Bedjan* ii 119[15]

ܗܝܡܢܘ ܒܐܠܗܐ ܗܝܡܢܘ ܒܝ.

'Believe in God, and in me believe.'

This gives the text as printed by Bedjan, and it agrees with the Peshitta. But in his notes he gives the reading of another MS (probably that in the Vatican), which has ܗܝܡܢܘ ܒܐܠܗܐ ܗܝܡܢܘ ܐܦ ܒܝ ܬܗܝܡܢܘܢ, *i.e.* 'Believe in God and ye will believe in me.' This is what *S* also has, and doubtless it represents what Marutha wrote.

We have now passed in review practically all the quotations found in the extant remains of Syriac literature before the end of the first quarter of the 5th century. On the one hand, no clear instance of the use of the Peshitta has presented itself; on the other, these quotations and the MSS of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* often agree against

the Peshitta, while the differences between the quotations and the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* all point to a use of the Diatessaron.

I do not propose to examine the witness borne by the secondary Oriental Versions, *viz.* the Armenian, the Georgian, and the Ethiopic, to the original form of the Syriac N.T. A considerable body of evidence exists, which shews that all three versions were originally made from a Syriac text, but so far as I am aware it has never been discussed whether this text was a MS of the Four Gospels or of the Diatessaron. In any case it was certainly not the Peshitta, for the coincidences of text which are still visible, notwithstanding later revision from the Greek, are all with the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* and not with the Syriac Vulgate.

For the Armenian Version, see J. A. Robinson's *Euthaliana* (Texts and Studies iii 3, pp. 72–98), and F. C. Conybeare in the *American Journal of Theology* for October, 1897.

For the Georgian Version, see the same paper by F. C. Conybeare.

For the Syriac elements in the Ethiopic Version, see Gildemeister's Note in Gregory's *Prolegomena* to Tischendorf's N.T., p. 895 ff.

Rabbula (*Wright* 47–49).

Rabbula, the great organiser and regulator of the Syriac-speaking Churches, was bishop of Edessa from 411 AD till his death in 435. His biography was written soon after his death by an admiring disciple, and is printed in *Overbeck*, pp. 159–209. Two quotations from the Gospel in this work will be enough to shew the text used by the writer.

Matt vi 11, Lk xi 3 = *Overbeck* 168[2]

ܠܚܡܐ ܕܣܦܩܢ ܠܢ ܒܫܥ ܕܡܨܥ ܫܡܫܐ ܫܕܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܚܡ ܕܣܘܟܪܢ ܗܘ.

Grace at the setting of the Sun sent them the bread of their need.

In the Lord's Prayer ἄρτον ἐπιούσιον is rendered ܠܚܡ ܕܡܬܕܝܡ 'continual bread' in *S* and *C*, in the *Acts of Thomas* and in Ephraim. But the Peshitta has ܠܚܡ ܕܣܘܟܪܢ, as here.

Joh i 14 = *Overbeck* 197[20]

ܒܝܘܚܢܢ ܒܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܗ̇ܘ ܡܦܫ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܐܬܒܣܪ ܘܫܪܐ ܒܝܢ ܠܢ.

John explains in his gospel that the Word became flesh and sojourned among us.

This agrees with the Peshitta against *C* and Aphraates and Ephraim in making 'the Word' masculine, and in using the term ܒܣܪܐ 'flesh' instead of ܦܓܪܐ 'body.' *S* is not extant for this passage.

It is unnecessary to multiply instances: these two crucial passages make it quite evident that the writer of the *Life of Rabbula* knew and used the Syriac Vulgate. And his testimony is borne out by that of later Syriac literature. Here and there a diligent search may pick out a reminiscence of the Diatessaron, or of texts akin to *S* and *C*, but from the time of Rabbula the Syriac Vulgate holds a position of absolute supremacy. Before Rabbula, no trace of the Peshitta: after Rabbula, hardly a trace of any other text. What, we may ask, is the cause of this sudden and decisive change?

The answer is to be found in a sentence which describes the doings of Rabbula immediately after he entered into possession of the see of Edessa (*Overbeck* 172[18–20]):

ܕܒܗ ܐܬܦܣܩ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܚܟܡܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܗ̇ܘܬ ܒܗ. ܠܥܕܬܐ ܕܐܘܪܗܝ ܠܣܘܪܝܝܐ ܡܢ ܝܘܢܝܐ ܐܬܪܓܡ ܗ̇ܘ ܒܓܠܠ ܫܚܠܦܝܗ̇ ܕܗ̇ܘ. ܟܕ ܗ̇ܘ ܐܝܟ ܗ̇ܘ ܐܬܬܩܢ.

Now he translated in the wisdom of God that was in him the New Testament from Greek into Syriac, because of its variations, exactly as it was.

These words I believe to be an account of the first publication of the Syriac Vulgate. Rabbula found the Diatessaron in general use; the Four Gospels were little read and there was no standard text of them. To bring the Syriac-speaking congregations into line with Greek thought and Greek praxis it was necessary to get rid of the Diatessaron. His flock read the Diatessaron, but the other Churches of God had no such custom, and he resolved to get rid of it. The *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* was therefore revised by him into greater

conformity with the text current in Antioch at the beginning of the 5th century, and the use of this revised *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* was enjoined by him[1]. His efforts were eminently successful in this as in all his other undertakings. The Diatessaron was suppressed and the revised text of the Four Gospels soon attained a position of unassailable supremacy.

Two objections to the identification of Rabbula's revision of the New Testament with the present Syriac Vulgate must here be considered. In the first place I can imagine that the incompleteness of the Peshitta canon might be used as an argument against dating the version so late as 411 AD. The Peshitta, as a matter of fact, does not include the Apocalypse and the four shorter Catholic Epistles. It is true that some evidence for all of these books exists at the beginning of the 5th century in certain parts of the Christian world. But it is just these books and no others that are passed over in the quotations of S. Chrysostom and of Theodoret. Moreover the canon of the Peshitta, in which James, 1 Peter and 1 John are included, is really a nearer approximation to the full Greek canon than anything that can be traced earlier in Syriac. Neither in Aphraates nor in the genuine works of S. Ephraim is there a single reference to any of the Catholic Epistles, and the *Doctrine of Addai* says expressly: 'The Law and the Prophets and the Gospel...and the Epistles of Paul...and the Acts of the twelve Apostles...these books read ye in the Church of God, and with these read not others[2].' This is the ancient Canon of the Syriac-speaking Church. The Canon of the Peshitta, so far from being in the late Bishop Westcott's unfortunate phrase 'the earliest monument of Catholic Christianity,' is only a half-way stage, which represents the custom of Antioch at the beginning of the 5th century, both by what it includes and what it leaves out.

Another objection which may be raised to regarding the Peshitta as the work of Rabbula is the acceptance of it by the Nestorians. How should the Nestorians accept a revision set forth by 'the tyrant of Edessa'?

[1] See *Overbeck* 220[4], and see the discussion in the following Chapter, p. 177 *f.*

[2] *Doctrine of Addai* ܟܕ (Eng. Tr., p. 44): see above, p. 159.

This would indeed be a grave difficulty, if in the time of Rabbula the Nestorians had been, what they afterwards became, a definite sect of Syriac-speaking Christians. But at the epoch we are now considering the Greek Nestorians were as prominent as those who spoke Syriac, and it was not till 449 AD, fifteen years after Rabbula's death, that Nestorian doctrines were formally condemned. The pro-Nestorian school, as much as their opponents, derived their doctrine from Greek theologians; they would be as anxious as any party to possess a translation of the Bible which agreed with the Greek. As a matter of fact, very few 'various readings' favour Nestorianism against its opponents, or *vice versa*; the chief exception is Hebr ii 9, and in that verse the variation between χωρὶς θεοῦ and χάριτι θεοῦ is actually reflected in the MSS of the Peshitta. Manuscripts of Nestorian origin support χωρὶς θεοῦ in agreement with Theodore of Mopsuestia, while Jacobite MSS have 'God in his grace,' a strange rendering which possibly represents χάριτι θεός.

As regards the most striking feature of difference between the Peshitta and the ancient use of Syriac-speaking Christians, the heads of the Nestorian party were at one with Rabbula. Rabbula ordered that in every church there should be a copy of the Separated Gospels and that it should be read, meaning by this (as I believe) a copy of his own revision[1]. But it was Theodoret, the partisan of Nestorius, who withdrew over 200 copies of the Diatessaron from circulation in his own diocese, and substituted in their place the Gospels of the Four Evangelists. Indeed Rabbula's change of front with regard to the doctrine of our Lord's Nature may have helped to spread the version that he recommended. If the heads of the Nestorian party had been persuaded to give up the Diatessaron before Rabbula went over to their adversaries they would not return to its use after he left them. A body of Christians in the 5th century who had once given up the Diatessaron would hardly revert to their heretical Harmony. Meanwhile Rabbula's defection to the anti-Nestorian party, as we may call the Orthodox and the future Monophysites, must have helped to recommend his Biblical policy to these also. Clear traces of the Peshitta text appear in the Biblical quotations and allusions in Isaac of Antioch, who died

[1] See the discussion in the next Chapter, p. 177.

about 460 AD after a long literary career[1]. It is noteworthy, however, that Monophysite scholars appear to have been less satisfied with the Peshitta than those of the other party. The fact that all later attempts at the revision of the Syriac Bible, such as the Harclean version, were the work of Monophysites may perhaps be taken to indicate that they had not adopted the Peshitta so early or so willingly as other divisions of Syriac-speaking Christians.

One point remains to be noticed. If my conjecture be correct, that Rabbula in ordering the use of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* had really in view the substitution of his own revised Peshitta for the Diatessaron, it follows that the Diatessaron was the only serious rival that the Peshitta had to face at the time of its publication. That the 'Old Syriac' version of the N.T. had had a long and complicated literary history is proved by the extensive variation between the texts of the two surviving MSS. The Sinai Palimpsest and Cureton's MS are clearly representatives of one and the same translation, but they differ in some places very widely from each other, almost as widely as MSS of the Old Latin version of the Gospels. But the Patristic evidence that has been collected in this Chapter does not suggest that the version to which the Sinai Palimpsest and Cureton's MS belong enjoyed a wide circulation in the Church during the 4th and 5th centuries. Whatever may have been the state of things with regard to the Acts and Epistles, about which we know very little, it is evident that when Rabbula became bishop of Edessa the form in which the Gospel was practically known to Syriac-speaking Christians was Tatian's Harmony. This explains the success of Rabbula's efforts, and the absence of Gospel MSS containing the Peshitta text mixed with readings derived from the 'Old Syriac.' The Latin MSS with mixed texts are descended from 'Old Latin' MSS corrected, but not quite thoroughly, to the official Vulgate. But you cannot correct a copy of the Diatessaron into a copy of the Four Gospels. It was not a question of changing the readings, but of substituting one book for another. Wherever the

[1] E.g. Isaac speaks of the Word made *Flesh* (ܒܣܪܐ): see Bickell's Ed., i 274 (p. 14). In a Metrical Homily printed in the Roman Edition of S. Ephraim as *Paraenesis* lxxiv, but really by Isaac of Antioch, Lk xvii 21 is quoted in agreement with the Peshitta, against both the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* and the Diatessaron ('*Quotations*,' pp. 21, 22).

change was made, and we learn from Theodoret that the change was made wholesale, no mixture of texts took place. The Diatessaron codex was taken away and a copy of the revised Peshitta was put in its place.

Meanwhile the copies of the unrevised *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* remained where they were. The two which survive contain no early liturgical marks in the margins, as is generally the case with books intended for service. They are, so to speak, library volumes. To us they are inestimably precious as survivals from a previous age, relics of the time before the Syriac-speaking Church became the servile imitator of Greek Christianity. But to the contemporaries of Rabbula, who allowed them to rest undisturbed on their shelves, they were neither recommended to be used nor condemned to be suppressed by Church authority: they were simply old-fashioned books to be left alone and forgotten. Thus it has come to pass that two MSS of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* have survived, while not one single copy of the once popular Syriac Diatessaron has reached the hand of modern scholars.

THE GREAT TWIN COLUMNS ON THE CITADEL OF EDESSA

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER III.

THE GOSPEL QUOTATIONS IN THE *THEOPHANIA* OF EUSEBIUS.

The quotations from the Gospel in early Syriac translations from the Greek form a class by themselves. They cannot be accepted without further examination as evidence for the Biblical texts current among Syriac-speaking Christians. As a general rule we find that translators render the quotations afresh from the original without paying much heed to the current version of the words, while at the same time the use of a word or phrase betrays their acquaintance with the Biblical text in the vernacular. Consequently, where the wording of such a quotation differs from all vernacular renderings we learn little or nothing about the texts known to the translator; it is only from striking agreements with other texts, agreements either too peculiar or too extensive to be accidental, that we are able to draw our inferences.

The works of Eusebius were very quickly translated into Syriac, possibly during the lifetime of the author. Eusebius died in 338 AD, and the Nitrian MS of the Theophania is dated 411 AD. This MS is itself a copy, so that we are at once carried into a very early period. It is likely that the various works were translated by the same school, though not, I think, by the same hand, the Ecclesiastical History being much less slavishly literal than the Theophania.

The quotations in the *Ecclesiastical History* are for our purposes only two, but each of them contains an agreement with the 'Old Syriac' against the Peshitta. In *HE* II i 2 (*Wright and McLean*, p. 60) there is a reference to Matt i 18 :—

ܕܐ ܠܟ ܢܬܚܕܝ ܒܗ ܠܦ ܒܗ ܐܫܬܗܫ ܟܠܟ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܡܪܒܘ.

This is word for word with *S* and *C*, except that *C* has ܕܐ for ܕܐ, perhaps by a clerical error. For *πρὶν ἢ συνελθεῖν αὐτούς* the Peshitta has ܕܐ ܠܟ ܢܬܚܕܝ, while the Diatessaron (*Moesinger* 20) had 'Before she was given to a husband.' The agreement of the translator of Eusebius with the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* in rendering this phrase by 'Before ever they drew near one to the other' is too marked and too extensive to be accidental.

In *HE* I 3 (p. 8) we find ܟܠ ܒܗ. ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܕܟܠ ܥܒܕ ܐܠܗܐ ܟܠ ܒܗ. This is unbiblical phraseology, for both the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* and the Peshitta have ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܥܒܕ ܐܠܗܐ. But the theologically interesting rendering ܒܗ 'in Him' agrees with *C* and S. Ephraim against ܒܝܕܗ 'through Him' in Pesh. On the other hand ܟܠ 'all' agrees with Pesh., as *C* and Ephraim have ܟܠ ܡܕܡ 'everything.' Upon such a point as the last it is obvious that no stress can be laid. Unless the translator was deliberately copying a Syriac version he was equally likely to choose ܟܠ or ܟܠ ܡܕܡ: it is only when the rendering is elaborate or striking, as in the former example from Matt i 18, that the text of these quotations can prove anything.

The quotations in the *Theophania* demand more attention. At first sight they seem to promise very valuable textual help. There are many formal citations of the Gospels by name, the quotations often extending over several verses together, and there can be little doubt that the passages thus incorporated by Eusebius in his work represented the text of the codex he used. But the quotations in the Syriac translation of the *Theophania* neither represent accurately the text used by Eusebius nor the readings of any ancient Syriac text. They represent a mixture of the Eusebian text with the Biblical text as known to the translator, and it is almost impossible at times to disentangle the two elements. For example, take *Theoph* iv 6 = Lk v 5.

Theoph	Syr.vg	*S*
ܠܐ ܐܬܝܗ ܐܦ ܗܘ	ܠܐ ܐܬܝܗ ܐܦ ܗܘ	ܠܐ ܐܬܝܗ ܐܦ ܗܘ
ܠܟܝܡ ܠܟ ܡܠܐ ܕܐܬܡܠ	ܠܟܝܡ ܠܟ ܡܠܐ ܕܐܬܡܠ	ܠܟܝܡ ܠܟ ܡܠܐ ܕܐܬܡܠ
ܠܐ ܐܫܟܚܢ.	ܠܐ ܐܫܟܚܢ.	ܠܐ ܐܫܟܚܢ.
ܐܦ ܥܠ ܦܘܡܟ ܐܫܕ	ܐܦ ܥܠ ܦܘܡܟ ܐܫܕ	ܐܫܕ ܥܠ ܦܘܡܟ ܐܦ
ܐܬܪ ܕܝܢ ܐܡܪ ܫܡܥܘܢ.	ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܫܡܥܘܢ.	ܐܡܪ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܕܝܢ

Here we have (1) an agreement between *Theoph* and *S* in ܐܫܟܚ 'found,' for ܢܣܒ 'taken' (= ἐλάβομεν); (2) an agreement of *Theoph* and syr.vg in not having the addition ܗܫܐ 'now,' which is a peculiarity of *S*, and (3) not less than five peculiarities of *Theoph*, where it differs both from *S* and from the Peshitta. These are the insertion of ܐܦ before ܐܬܝ, the omission of ܐܬ, the order of ܠܟ ܡܠܐ ܕܐܬܡܠ, the addition of ܦܘܡܟ, and the word ܐܫܕ 'I will throw,' where Pesh. has ܐܬܝ ܐܟ 'I cast' and *S* has ܐܬܝ 'we will put out.' In other words, the translator has done just what might have been expected: he has translated the Greek of Eusebius directly, not rendering Eusebius's quotations by the corresponding passage of the Syriac N.T. At the same time the occurrence of ܐܫܟܚ suggests that he has been influenced here and there by the familiar words of the vernacular version, even where that version is an inaccurate or paraphrastic rendering of the Greek.

More definite results can be obtained from examining the quotations which occur in those parts of the *Theophania* covered by the extant fragments of the Greek. These were first published by Mai in the *Nova Bibliotheca Patrum*, vol. iv 109–156, 310–312. The Greek fragments consist of extracts, and only a few of the Biblical quotations are contained in them, but enough remains clearly to shew the method of the translator. Below is given Matt xxi 33–43 in the Greek as quoted by Eusebius, and in the Syriac as printed by Lee from the Nitrian MS.

Theoph iv 13	*Mai* NBP iv 122
ܐܬܝ ܐܟ ܐܡ ܒܝܫ ܕ ܐܢܫ[33] ܕܐܫܟܚ.	[33]ᵛ Ἀνθρωπός τις ἦν οἰκοδεσπότης, ὅστις
ܒܝ ܓ ܦܘܬܐ ܐܢܫ ܡܠܟ	ἐφύτευσεν ἀμπελῶνα, καὶ φραγμὸν αὐτῷ περιέθηκε,
ܐܦܫ ܓ ܒܗ ܐܫܟ	καὶ ὤρυξεν ἐν αὐτῷ ληνόν,
ܐܒܢ ܓ ܒܗ ܡܓܕܠ	καὶ ᾠκοδόμησε πύργον,
ܐܫܬܕܪ ܠܟܪܝܢ ܐܫܟ.	καὶ ἐξέδοτο αὐτὸν γεωργοῖς, καὶ ἀπεδήμησεν·

Theoph iv 13

34 ܟܕ ܗܘ ܦܪܝ ܘܫܕܪ ܠܥܒܕܘܗܝ ܕܟܪܡܐ ܕܢܣܒܘܢ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܦܪܝ ܟܪܡܗ.

ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܡܐ ܥܒܕܬܘܢ ܠܝ ܗܟܝ.

35 ܘܢܦܫ ܐܚܕ ܡܢ ܥܒܕܘܗܝ ܕܟܪܡܐ ܘܟܬܫ ܠܚܕ ܘܩܛܠ ܠܚܕ

ܘܪܓܡ ܠܚܕ ܘܫܕܚ ܠܚܕ ܐܚܪ ܠܚܘܪ ܡܢ ܐܚܪ.

36 ܘܫܕܪ ܐܚܪ ܥܒܕܐ ܐܚܪ ܠܘܬ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܘܥܒܕ ܠܗܘܢ ܟܕܢܐ.

37 ܒܣܘܦ ܐܡܪ ܗܐ ܒܪܝ ܐܫܕܪ ܠܘܬ ܒܪܝ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܕܢܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܒܪܝ.

38 ܐܡܪ ܗܢ ܥܒܕܐ ܟܕ ܚܙܘ ܠܗ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܝ ܗܘ ܝܪܬܐ ܗܐ ܢܩܛܠ ܠܗ

ܘܢܫܬܘ ܠܝܪܬܬܗ ܘܗܘ ܢܗܘܐ ܠܢ.

39 ܘܢܩܛܘܠ ܠܗ ܘܫܕܘ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܒܪ ܟܪܡܐ ܘܩܛܠܘ ܠܗ.

40 ܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܡܪܐ ܕܟܪܡܐ ܡܐ ܥܒܕ ܠܗܝܢ ܥܒܕܐ.

41 ܐܡܪܝܢ ܠܗ ܒܝܫܐ ܒܝܫ ܢܒܕ ܠܗܘܢ ܘܟܪܡܐ ܐܚܪ ܢܬܠ ܠܗ

ܠܥܒܕܐ ܕܢܬܠܘܢ ܠܗ ܒܥܝܢܬܗ.

42 ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܝܫܘܥ ܠܐ ܩܪܝܬܘܢ ܒܟܬܒܐ ܕܐܒܢܐ ܕܣܠܩܘ ܗܢܘ

ܗܘ ܗܘܐ ܠܪܝܫ ܙܘܝܬܐ ܡܢ ܡܪܐ ܗܘܬ ܗܝ ܘܦܠܐ ܗܝ ܒܥܝܢܝܢ.

43 ܠܗܕܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܕܢܣܒ ܡܢܟܘܢ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܘܢܬܝܗܒ

ܠܥܡܐ ܕܥܒܕܝܢ ܦܪܝ ܕܝܠܗ.

Mai iv 122

34 ὅτε δὲ ἤγγισεν ὁ καιρὸς τῶν καρπῶν,

ἀπέστειλε τοὺς δούλους αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς γεωργοὺς

λαβεῖν τοὺς καρποὺς αὐτοῦ·

35 καὶ λαβόντες οἱ γεωργοὶ τοὺς δούλους αὐτοῦ,

ὃν μὲν ἔδειραν,

ὃν δὲ ἀπέκτειναν, ὃν δὲ ἐλιθοβόλησαν·

36 πάλιν ἀπέστειλεν ἄλλους δούλους

πλείονας τῶν πρώτων,

καὶ ἐποίησαν αὐτοῖς ὡσαύτως·

37 ὕστερον δὲ ἀπέστειλε πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ,

λέγων· ἐντραπήσονται τὸν υἱόν μου·

38 οἱ δὲ γεωργοὶ ἰδόντες τὸν υἱὸν

εἶπον ἐν ἑαυτοῖς· οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ κληρονόμος,

δεῦτε ἀποκτείνωμεν αὐτὸν

καὶ κατάσχωμεν τὴν κληρονομίαν αὐτοῦ·

39 καὶ λαβόντες αὐτὸν ἐξέβαλον ἔξω τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος

καὶ ἀπέκτειναν·

40 ὅταν οὖν ἔλθῃ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος

τί ποιήσει τοῖς γεωργοῖς ἐκείνοις;

41 λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· κακοὺς κακῶς ἀπολέσει αὐτούς·

καὶ τὸν ἀμπελῶνα ἐκδώσεται ἄλλοις γεωργοῖς,

οἵτινες ἀποδώσουσιν αὐτῷ τοὺς καρποὺς

ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς αὐτῶν·

42 λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς·

οὐδέποτε ἀνέγνωτε ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς·

λίθον ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες,

οὗτος ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας;

παρὰ Κυρίου ἐγένετο αὕτη,

καὶ ἔστι θαυμαστὴ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν;

43 διὰ τοῦτο λέγω ὑμῖν

ὅτι ἀρθήσεται ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ,

καὶ δοθήσεται ἔθνει ποιοῦντι τοὺς καρποὺς αὐτῆς.

Here we have a passage of sufficient length to exhibit the characteristic phenomena of the quotations in the *Theophania*. First of all, it is evident that the Syriac text was translated direct from the Greek as quoted by Eusebius. It is far less idiomatic in style than either the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* or the Peshitta: contrast, for example, the ܗܘ ܕܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܗ of *S C* and Pesh. with the stiffer and more literal ܕܢܬܝܗܒ ܠܗ of the *Theophania*. Characteristic also of the Eusebian translator is ܐܡ ܕܐܬܪ for ὁ Ἰησοῦς. Moreover ܠܚܕ (for ܐܚܪ) in *v.* 35 and ܕܢܟܣ ܕܢܟ (for ܟܣܐ) in *v.* 42 depart entirely from the traditional vocabulary of the Syriac Bible.

A rendering so literal as that in the *Theophania* could hardly fail to present some agreements with the Peshitta which are not shared by the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*, a translation marked by great freedom. Thus *Theoph* and Pesh. have the Greek order in *v.* 33; they have the same word for 'inheritance' in *v.* 38, though the construction of the clause is different; and in *v.* 40 they both begin the verse with ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܝܢ ܗܘ. Against these we may set the omission of ὅστις in *v.* 33 by *Theoph* and *C*; the translation of ἐξέδοτο αὐτὸν in *v.* 34 by ܐܬܠ in *Theoph* and *S C*; the omission of αὐτοῦ at the end of *v.* 34 by *Theoph* and *S C*, where Pesh. has ܕܟܪܡܗ 'of his vineyard'; the rendering of καὶ κατάσχωμεν τὴν κληρονομίαν αὐτοῦ in *v.* 38 by 'and the inheritance will be ours' in *Theoph* and *S C*, where Pesh. is literal; and the translation of ἐκδώσεται in *v.* 41 by ܢܬܠ in *Theoph* and *C*.

It is especially noteworthy that the quotation in the *Theophania* shews no points of contact with that of S. Ephraim discussed above, p. 123. In *v.* 41 S. Ephraim, who is probably reproducing the renderings of the Diatessaron, has ܢܥܒܕ (with Pesh.) for ܢܬܠ, and ܒܝܫܐ ܥܒܕ ܠܟܘܪܣܝ against all other Syriac texts, for ܒܝܫܐ ܠܟܘܪܣܝ[1].

An examination of the quotation of Lk xix 41—44[a] in *Theoph* iv 19 would lead to similar results, except that in this case the divergence from *S C* and Pesh. is more marked. This quotation is also preserved in the Greek (*Mai* NBP iv 129); the fact of its occurrence in the Greek extracts shews that the series of formal quotations found in the Syriac of the *Theophania* was really characteristic of the work as Eusebius left it, and has not been added *de suo* by the Syriac translator. When therefore the Syriac text of the Theophania is a literal rendering of the Greek Gospel text, the translator may be merely rendering the Greek as quoted by Eusebius, without following any existing Syriac version of the Scriptures.

The importance of this caution will be seen when we consider the quotation of Matt viii 5 ff in *Theoph* iv 2, 3. This passage is extant in Greek (*Mai*, p. 116 f), but it differs widely from the Syriac and the quotation from the Gospel is less formal. The Syriac quotation therefore may tell us what version of the Gospels was known to the translator of Eusebius. We actually find ποίησον τοῦτο Matt viii 9 rendered by ܕܥܒܕ ܗܠܝ 'do so much' in *Theoph* as in *S C*, while Pesh. has the ordinary ܕܥܒܕ ܗܕܐ 'do this.' The pronoun ܗܠܝ is quite rare in literature, so that its use in the Syriac *Theophania* is very likely due to a reminiscence of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*.

[1] The influence of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* upon the Syriac text of the quotations in the *Theophania* was first noticed in a review of Cureton's text published anonymously in 1859 by the Abbé Lehir, under the title of *Étude sur une ancienne Version Syriaque des Évangiles*, pp. 22—25.

But we cannot press the agreement of the *Theophania* with *S* in a much more striking point. Both in *S* (in S. Matthew) and in *Theoph* iv 2, 3, the Centurion is promoted to the rank of Chiliarch. All other authorities, including *C* and also *S* itself in Lk vii 2, 6, call the man a Centurion[1]. He is also called ἑκατοντάρχης in *Mai* iv 117, in the portion of text which does not correspond literally with our Syriac. But a little lower down (at l. 32 of the same page, in a passage of *Theoph* iv 3 which reappears literally in the Syriac) we read ὡς τότε μὲν εἷς ῥωμαίοις ἦν ὁ τῷ σωτῆρι προσεληλυθὼς χιλίαρχος. Thus the true text of the Greek Eusebius also called the man a Chiliarch, and the faithfulness of the Syriac translation is vindicated. But just for that very reason we cannot claim the agreement of the Syriac *Theophania* in this point with *S* as a proof that the translator is borrowing from a Syriac version.

Yet even after all deductions have been made there remains an appreciable number of cases, like the use of اجل mentioned above, where the translator does appear to have been influenced in his choice of renderings by his familiarity with a Syriac version, and that version a form of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* such as we know it in *S* and *C*. Thus in *Theoph* i 24 we find Joh i 3 rendered by ܟܠ ܡܢ ܒܗ ܗܘܐ, 'Everything was in Him,' just as in *C*; in *Theoph* iv 30 the τρίβολοι of Matt vii 16 is rendered as in *C* by ܣܢܝܐ 'brier(s),' while Pesh. has ܩܘܣܐ 'thistles'; in *Theoph* iii 27, iv 11, v 40, for the πύλαι ᾅδου of Matt xvi 18 we find ܬܪܥܐ ܕܫܐܘܠ 'the gate-bars of Sheol' as in Ephraim and Marutha, though not in Pesh. or in *C*. All these coincidences with *S* or *C*, or with early Syriac Patristic evidence, cannot be accidental.

In one passage it is tempting to suppose that the Syriac *Theophania* may preserve the genuine reading of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, where both *S* and *C* have followed a different text. In Matt xxii 13, according to the Peshitta and the text followed by modern critical editors of the New Testament, the King in the Parable says to his servants about the Man who had not on a Wedding-garment: "Bind him hand and foot and cast him out" (δήσαντες αὐτοῦ πόδας καὶ χεῖρας ἐκβάλετε αὐτόν). For the first word the Peshitta has ܣܒܘ, the ordinary word for 'bind.' But the *Acts of Thomas* (Wright, p. 315), a work which uses the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*, as we have seen above (p. 102), has a reference to the passage implying the use of the verb ܚܕܙ 'to fasten.' The whole Parable is quoted in *Theoph* iv 16, and the word used in *v.* 13 is ܚܕܘ, in agreement with the text that seems to underlie the *Acts of Thomas*. But *S* and *C* read ܣܒܘ ܒܝܕܘܗܝ ܘܒܪܓܠܘܗܝ "Take hold of him by his hands and his feet," a reading which recalls the reading ἄρατε αὐτὸν ποδῶν καὶ χειρῶν, found in D and the Old Latin texts. If we make the conjecture that the reading of *S* and *C* is really that of the Diatessaron, and that in this passage the *Acts of Thomas* and the *Theophania* give us the genuine text of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*, we have an explanation of the textual phenomena. But it must be remembered that this is a mere conjecture, and the translator of Eusebius may

[1] The Diatessaron, as represented by *Aphraates* 20, appears to have called him βασιλικός, as in Joh iv 46 ff.

quite easily have been following the Greek that lay before him without any thought of the current Biblical texts. It is certain that in some of the previous verses of this Parable he has paid little regard to the Syriac Bible in his rendering of the Greek. Moreover this theory hardly accounts for the use of حصد by Ephraim (see above, p. 124).

The reader who has been persuaded by the foregoing argument will understand why I have omitted to record the *Theophania* readings in my apparatus to the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. I believe there is no certain sign of acquaintance with the Peshitta or the Diatessaron on the part of the translator of the *Theophania*, and I believe there are signs of his acquaintance with the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*. The translator translates for himself from the Greek, and it is only very occasionally that we can venture to assert that he is influenced from any other source. The only exceptions to be made occur when we know that the Syriac actually differs in text or in meaning from what Eusebius wrote: of this there are a few instances, one of which is important enough in itself to demand separate notice.

My friend Mr F. C. Conybeare has made it abundantly clear that in the *Theophania* and in several other works Eusebius could not or would not quote the command to baptize in the name of the Trinity[1]. This very curious fact is quite distinct from the deductions which Mr Conybeare and others have drawn from it. It might, I suppose, be maintained that Eusebius considered it unseemly to publish in a work intended for the general heathen reader the magic words of a sacramental ritual. Be that as it may, the fact remains that Eusebius in the *Theophania* (v 17, 46, 49) represents our Lord as telling His apostles to make disciples of all nations in *His* Name, without any mention of baptism. When therefore we find the full text quoted in the Syriac of *Theoph* iv 8 with some noteworthy variants, but including the command to baptize in the name of the Trinity, we feel sure that the translator is not giving us the text of Eusebius. It was therefore taken from the text of S. Matthew as he knew it, i.e. from the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. In this way we arrive at the exceedingly important conclusion that some MSS at least of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* had the command to baptize in the name of the Trinity, as in the ordinary text. The evidence of the *Theophania* is all the more important as neither *S* nor *C* is extant at the end of S. Matthew, and the Diatessaron is represented by an ambiguous allusion in the *Doctrine of Addai* and a still more ambiguous quotation in Aphraates. At the same time this evidence from the Syriac *Theophania*, important as it is, must not be made to prove too much. We have two MSS of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*: one contains the Longer Conclusion to S. Mark, the other does not do so. In the case of the peroration of S. Matthew's Gospel it is quite likely that one MS might have the ordinary text, while the other had something different. If I may venture the conjecture, the impression I have formed from a study of *S* and *C* leads me to feel confident that *C* had the command to baptize in the name of the Trinity, but I do not think we should be justified in making any guess as to what may have been contained in the missing leaf of *S*.

[1] See Preuschen's *Zeitschrift f. d. NTliche Wissenschaft* i 275–288; *Hibbert Journal* i 102–108.

The text of the quotation of Matt xxviii 16—20 in the Syriac *Theophania* iv 8 runs as follows.

ܕܐܦ ܒܬܪ ܩܝܡܬܗ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܩܒܪܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܐܟܬ [ܐܝܟ] ܕܦܩܕ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܓܠܝܠ
ܐܠܐ ܠܬܠܬܐ ܝܘܡ̈ܝ ܕܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܗܘܢ. [17]ܘܟܕ ܚܙܘܗܝ ܣܓܕܘ ܠܗ ܡܢܗܘܢ
ܗܘ ܕܦܠܓ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܐܒܘܗܝ ܟܠ ܫܘܠܛܢ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ ܘܒܐܪܥܐ. [18]ܘܩܪܒ
ܐܙܠ ܘܐܬܠܡܕܘ ܟܠ ܥܡ̈ܡܐ ܘܡܥܡܕܝܢ ܐܢܘܢ ܒܫܡܗ ܕܐܒܐ ܘܒܪܐ ܘܪܘܚܐ
ܩܕܝܫܐ. [19]ܘܠܡܠܦܢ ܐܢܘܢ ܠܡܛܪ ܟܠ ܡܐ ܕܦܩܕܬܟܘܢ. [20]ܘܗܐ ܐܢܐ
ܥܡܟܘܢ ܟܠ ܝܘܡ̈ܝ ܥܕ ܣܘܦܗ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܐܡܝܢ.

After His resurrection from among the dead all of them together [as] was commanded them went to Galilee *where He said to them,* [17]*and when they saw Him, some of them worshipped Him and some of them doubted.* [18]*Now He drew near by them and spake with them, and said: 'There hath been given to me from my Father all authority that is in heaven and in earth.* [19]*Go ye and make disciples of all the peoples, and baptize them in the Name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit,* [20]*and teach them to keep whatsoever I have commanded you; and lo, I am with you all the days even unto the consummation of the world.'*

CHAPTER IV.

THE DIATESSARON AND THE OLD SYRIAC.

When we leave the Peshitta and go on to investigate the literary history of the Gospel among Syriac-speaking Christians before the time of Rabbula's episcopate, we leave the region of comparative light and certainty for that of darkness and conjecture. The main question to be considered is the relative dates of the Diatessaron and of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. Was the earliest version of the Gospel in Syriac a translation of Tatian's Harmony or a translation of the Four canonical Gospels? This question is exceedingly important for our estimate of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, because the appearance of the Diatessaron in Syriac can be dated with some certainty. Tatian left Rome for the Euphrates Valley soon after 172 AD and seems to have died in the East a few years afterwards, so that the first publication of the Syriac Diatessaron cannot be later than 180 AD. If the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* preceded the Syriac Diatessaron, then it cannot be dated later than the middle of the second century. But if the Diatessaron preceded the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, it will not be very easy to prove that any Syriac version of the Four Gospels existed before the third century.

Notices of the Diatessaron in Syriac Literature.

The principal notices of the Diatessaron in Syriac writings, or of its use among Syriac-speaking Christians, are collected below.

The Doctrine of Addai, which gives the traditional account of the foundation of Christianity at Edessa, is in its present form a work of

the early years of the 5th century[1]. The outline of the story, part of which is told by Eusebius (*HE* I 13), is doubtless much older, and M. Tixeront thinks it had assumed a literary shape during the third century[2]. This earlier form of the tale has been incorporated in our *Doctrine of Addai*, but the text has been altered here and there[3]. It is important to insist on these details, because the only definite allusion in the work to the Diatessaron occurs in a single passage in a rather harsh grammatical construction.

We read (*Doctrine of Addai*, ed. Phillips, p. ﻝﻫ)

ﺣﻨﻢ ﻣﻦﻣ ﻣﻦﻣﻮ ﻟﻠﻤﻦ ﻣﻦﻣﻮ ﻣﻦﻣﻮ ﻣﻦﻣﻮ

(p. ٥٣). And again we read concerning certain Edessene converts that Addai "associated them with him in the Service, while they read from the Old Testament and the New, and upon the Prophets and the deeds of the Apostles[1] every day they were meditating,..." (p. ٨٤).

From the first and second of these quotations it is evident that 'Gospel' and 'Diatessaron' are interchangeable terms. The author of the *Doctrine of Addai*, who no doubt represents the popular tradition of Edessa at the end of the 4th century, does not seem to recognise any form of the Gospel other than the Diatessaron.

Eusebius's Church History may be mentioned here, as affording a curious illustration of the popularity of the Diatessaron among Syriac-speaking Christians. The *Church History* must have been translated into Syriac not long after its original publication in the 4th century, and the translator more than once slightly modifies the original in matters about which he had special knowledge. Eusebius (*HE* iv 29) had said

Ὁ μέντοιγε πρότερος αὐτῶν ἀρχηγὸς ὁ Τατιανὸς συνάφειάν τινα καὶ συναγωγὴν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως τῶν εὐαγγελίων συνθεὶς τὸ Διὰ τεσσάρων τοῦτο προσωνόμασεν· ὃ καὶ παρά τισιν εἰσέτι νῦν φέρεται.

But in the Syriac (*ed. M^{c}Lean*, p. 243) we read:

ܗܘ ܕܡ ܗܘ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܕܗܘ ܛܬܝܢܘܣ ܐܣܦ ܘܥܒܕ ܘܐܠܦ ܠܗ ܗܘ ܐܝܢܘܢ ܕܣܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܡܚܠܛܐ ܗܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܩܪܝ ܕܝܐܛܣܪܘܢ. ܗܘ ܕܡ ܗܘ ܕܒܝܕ ܣܓܝܐܐ ܐܢܫܐ ܗܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܐܝܕܝ ܣܓܝܐܐ ܥܕ ܗܫܐ ܝܘܡܐ.

Now this same Tatianus their former chief collected and mixed up and composed a Gospel and called it Diatessaron; now this is (the Gospel) of the Mixed, the same that is in the hands of many unto this day.

To Eusebius the Diatessaron was a work composed he was not quite sure how, to the translator the Diatessaron was a well-known work, current among many people. He is also able to add the vernacular name by which it was known in Syriac, *viz.* ܐܝܢܘܢ ܕܡܚܠܛܐ, *Evangelion da-Mĕḥallĕtê* or 'Gospel according to the mingled Evangelists,' a name which it bore in contradistinction to the Separated Gospel, the *Ḳvangelion da-Mĕpharrĕshé*[2].

[1] ܫܠܝܚܐ ܕܡܬܚܕܘܬ. I have adopted the punctuation of Cureton's *Syriac* text, p. ٦٥ *ad fin.*

[2] See also Hjelt's *Altsyrische Evangelienübersetzung*, p. 23, note.

To this notice in the Syriac *Eusebius* hardly any further information is added by later Syriac writers, except the statement of Dionysius Barsalibi, in the preface to his Commentary on the Gospel of S. Mark, that S. Ephraim wrote an Exposition of the Diatessaron and that its first words were *In the beginning was the Word.* Barsalibi died in 1171 AD: it is not likely that he ever saw the Diatessaron or even S. Ephraim's Commentary. As in most other instances where he makes an interesting statement, it is probable that he is quoting from an earlier and better informed writer. The reference to Tatian in the preface to the *Nomocanon* of 'Abd-îshô' (Mai, *Scriptt. Vet. Nova Coll.* x 191) is a mere rhetorical comparison between the general plan of the Diatessaron and that of the *Nomocanon* itself. There is no reason to think 'Abd-îshô' was really acquainted with the Diatessaron.

THEODORET, bishop of Cyrrhus, N.E. of Antioch, from 423 to 457, discovered as many as 200 copies of the Diatessaron in his diocese of eight hundred villages[1], a circumstance that shews that the use of the work was by no means confined to Edessa. He says: "Tatian also composed the Gospel called *Diatessaron*, removing the genealogies and all the other passages which shew that the Lord was born of the seed of David according to the flesh. This was used not only by the members of his party, but even by those who followed the Apostolic doctrine, as they did not perceive the evil design of the composition, but used the book in their simplicity for its conciseness. And I found also myself more than two hundred such books, which had been received with respect in our churches; and having gathered all together, I caused them to be laid aside, and introduced in their place the Gospels of the four Evangelists (*τὰ τῶν τεττάρων εὐαγγελιστῶν ἀντεισήγαγον εὐαγγέλια*)[2]."

Thus a few years after the publication of Rabbula's revised version of the Four Gospels we find the Diatessaron being actually suppressed in a neighbouring diocese. From the time of Theodoret and his contemporaries it ceased to be a living feature of Syriac Church life.

[1] *Gibbon* vi 111, note.

[2] Theodoret. *Haeret. Fab.* I 20 (*Migne* lxxxiii 379 f). The Greek is also given by Westcott, *Canon* I iv § 10, by Credner, *Beiträge*, I 442 and by Ciasca, p. ix.

Notices in Syriac writings of the Evangelion da-Mepharreshe.

The name *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* has been used throughout this book to designate the translation of the Four Gospels preserved in the Sinai Palimpsest (*S*) and in Cureton's MS (*C*), as distinguished both from the Diatessaron and from the Peshitta. This use of the term is sufficiently justified by its occurrence in the colophon of *S* and in the title prefixed to *C*. But though *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* has for us a quite definite textual meaning, it is not by any means certain that those who used the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* ever called it by that name to distinguish it from what we call 'the Peshitta,' i.e. the revised version of the New Testament made and published by Rabbula. There are only two real references by name to the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* in Syriac literature; the success of Rabbula's revision put the 'Old Syriac' at once out of use, and as soon as it was out of use it was forgotten.

The most famous allusion to the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, the passage which in Syriac literature corresponds to S. Augustine's notice of the 'Itala,' occurs in the Canons of Rabbula himself. He gives orders (*Overbeck* 220):

ܩܫܝܫܐ ܘܕܝܩܢܐ ܢܗܘܘ ܒܟܠ ܥܕܬܐ ܕܒܟܠ ܒܝܥܬܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܣܦܪܐ ܕܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܡܦܪܪܫܐ ܢܬܛܪ ܘܢܬܩܪܐ ܒܗ ܒܟܠ ܝܘܡ ܫܒܬܐ ܘܒܟܠ ܝܘܡ ܬܪܥܐ ∴

Let the priests and the deacons have a care that in all the churches a copy of the Evangeliôn da-Mĕpharrĕshê shall be kept and read.

What did Rabbula mean here by *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*? It is inconceivable that he was recommending the use of such a MS as *S* in preference to, or even in conjunction with, the Syriac Vulgate, although we may well believe that he would prefer the use of the Four Gospels in however inadequate a version to the use of a book like the Diatessaron, the work of one whom the Greeks classed as a heretic. I suggest therefore that Rabbula meant by *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* a copy of his own new Revised Version, i.e. a codex of the Gospels according to what we now call the Peshitta version. When he became bishop of Edessa it is evident that Tatian's Harmony was practically the only form of the Gospel in circulation. Individual scholars certainly, and the Bardesanian heretics probably, used the Four Gospels

in a translation akin to *S* and *C*, but the Church generally was familiar with the Diatessaron alone. The new revision of Rabbula and the 'Old Syriac' version on which it was based shared with such MSS as *S* or *C* the title *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, in contradistinction to the Diatessaron, or *Evangelion da-Meḥallete* as it was also called. But when the Diatessaron disappeared from circulation the term "Gospel according to the Separate Evangelists" became unmeaning. It was simply now the "Gospel" *sans phrase*. The presence of the title ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܡܦܪܪܫܐ in *S* and *C* is in itself almost a certain indication that the Diatessaron was still current at the time of their transcription and in the districts where they were transcribed.

The *Itala* has become a name for the 'Old Latin,' and with greater justice the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* has become a name for the 'Old Syriac' version of the Gospels. But just as I believe that S. Augustine meant by *Itala* what we call the Vulgate, so I believe that Rabbula in his Canons meant by *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* what we call the Peshitta.

The other reference in Syriac literature to the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* is a statement identically repeated in the Commentary of Barsalibi (on Matt xxvii 16, 17) and in the Lexicon of Bar Bahlul (*s.v.* ܒܪ ܐܒܐ). I give the Syriac text from Bar Bahlul (*Duval*, col. 243) and the English translation from Barsalibi in the vigorous language of Dudley Loftus (p. 13 of the second fasciculus of S. Matthew):

Bar Bahlul

ܒܪ ܐܒܐ. ܫ. ܫܡܗ ܕܝܫܘܥ
ܗܘ ܫܡܗ ܕܒܪ ܐܒܐ. ܗܟܝ
ܐܝ ܟܬܝܒ ܒܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ
ܕܡܦܪܪܫܐ. ܘܡܢ ܗܘ
ܕܐܡܪ ܦܝܠܛܘܣ ܒܓܘܦ
ܡܠܬܐ ܕܐܝܫܬܟܚ ܕܐܡܪ
ܠܗܘ ܐܢܐ ܥܒܕ ܠܟ. ܗܪܝ
ܒܪ ܐܒܐ ܫܡܗ ܕܝܫܘܥ
ܗܘ. ܠܟ ܥܠ ܟܝ ܒܐܘܢܓܠܝܣܛܐ
ܐܫܟܚ ܠܡ ܟܬܒ. ܐܟܝ
ܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܒܟܬܒܐ ܫܡܐ
ܕܥܒܕ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ.

Barsalibi

Called Barabba. Jefus was his Name, who is here called Barabba; for fo it is written in the *Gofpel of the feparated*; and it is more evident from what Pilate faid, in the 22d. Verf. *What fhall I do with Jefus, who is called Chrift?* Wherefore he was called Jefus; and the Evangelift was unwilling to Write his Name, that none might in his Book bear the fame Name with the Lord Jefus.

Barsalibi wrote in the 12th century and Bar Bahlul in the 10th century; but their verbal agreement in the above sentence shews us that they are copying from a common source. What that source was we can only guess. It was not S. Ephraim's Commentary on the Diatessaron, for S. Ephraim has no remark upon the other name of Barabbas[1]. Indeed it is remarkable that although the name Jesus Barabbas is given by Syriac writers such as Isho'dâd[2], Barhebraeus[3], and Solomon of el-Baṣra, this reading is never assigned by them to the Diatessaron. The statement of Barsalibi and Bar Bahlul may therefore have been taken from a writer who was contrasting the reading *Jesus Barabba* with the text of the Diatessaron, and not with the text of the Peshitta. As a matter of fact *Jesus Barabbas* is the reading of *S* in Matt xxvii 16, 17, and it was doubtless characteristic of the 'Old Syriac' text of those verses. If this view of the source of the statement of Barsalibi and Bar Bahlul be taken, the phrase *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* retains its natural sense of "the Syriac translation of the Four Gospels as distinguished from the Diatessaron"; there is no necessity to take it as meaning "the 'Old Syriac' as distinguished from the Peshitta[4]."

There is one other occurrence of the phrase ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܡܦܪܪܫܐ which may be mentioned here. In the year 1496 AD Ignatius Philoxenus, 112th bishop of Antioch, sold some books to defray the cost of the restoration of certain churches which had been destroyed by Tamerlane. The first and third of these were ordinary service books, but the second is described as *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* in the deed of sale. At that late date a copy of the 'Old Syriac' Gospels would have been a curiosity; it certainly would not have been sandwiched between ordinary books for liturgical use. Assemani, who quotes the deed of sale (*P O* ii 230), supposes the book to have been a Lectionary, i.e. a book the correct title of which would have been ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܡܦܪܪܫܐ

[1] He only says: "Ad hunc autem agnum verum suas blasphemias converterunt, eoque repudiato Barabbam homicidam sibi postularunt" (*Moesinger* 239).

[2] ܒ ܟܬܒ ܕܡ ܒܥܕ ܣܘܟ ܐܚܕ (*Camb. Univ. Libr.*, cod. add. 1973, *fol.* 133 b).

[3] Comm. on S. Matthew, ed. Spanuth, p. 63.

[4] It is not improbable that the source of the quotation may have been the lost Commentary on the Gospel by Mar Aba, the disciple of S. Ephraim, extracts out of which have been given above from Harris, *Ephrem*, p. 93 f.

ܣܝܓܠܐ *Gospel-book with separated Lections*, and this is obviously the true sense. Indeed the tenor of the document in which it occurs suggests that this MS which was sold was in the handwriting of John of Mardê, who died in 1165. In any case it can have nothing to do with what was called *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* in the time of Rabbula.

The Quotations of Aphraates.

The earliest dated evidence we have as to the use of the Gospels or the Diatessaron among Syriac-speaking Christians is derived from the actual practice of Aphraates. In other works the dates of the original compositions, or of those recensions which have come down to us, are disputed or unknown. But in the Homilies of Aphraates we have the undoubtedly genuine works of a writer who lived in the diocese of Seleucia and wrote between the years 337 and 345. I propose therefore in the following paragraphs to exhibit passages which may throw light upon the document or documents he used when quoting from the Gospel.

Aphraates names neither the Diatessaron nor any of the four Evangelists[1]. But it is clear that he very often is using the Diatessaron. Thus it is probable that he is quoting the opening words of Tatian's Harmony when he says (*Wright*, p. 13):

ܘܐܦ ܡܠܬܐ ܘܡܐܡܪܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܟܬܝܒ ܒܫܘܪܝܐ ܕܒܣܘܪܬܗ ܕܐܝܢ ܕܝܗܒ ܚܝܝܐ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܪܫ ܗܘ ܡܠܬܐ ܗܘ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܒܪܫ ܗܘ ܗܘܐ ܡܠܬܐ.

And also the Word and Speech of the Lord is the Messiah, as it is written in the beginning of the gospel of our Life-giver, that in the beginning He was the Word.

The quotation is not however quite decisive, except to shew that Aphraates' copy of the *Diatessaron* did not begin with Matt i 1 or Lk i 1–4, for the word used is not ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ 'Gospel-book,' but ܒܫܘܪܝܐ 'the good tidings.' The phrase used by Aphraates might easily, if it had stood alone, have come from one who used our separated Gospels.

But it is only one piece of evidence among many others, of which

[1] The 'John' mentioned in vi 12 (*Wright* 123) is not the Evangelist, but the Baptist.

the clearest and most decisive is the long summary of the Gospel preaching at the end of the Homily *on Love*. Of all the quotations of Aphraates this most surely rests on the Diatessaron and the Diatessaron alone. I therefore give a translation in full, setting down at the side the corresponding passages in the Diatessaron, according to Mr Hamlyn Hill's numeration of the Arabic Harmony, together with the corresponding Gospel references. It will be seen that the references follow the order of the Diatessaron almost without a break.

Diatessaron	Aphraates, *Hom.* II (= *Wright*, pp. 41—43)	*Gospel*	*Moes.*
viii 27	In His great love [27] He called happy the poor in	Matt v 3	62
33	their spirit, [33] and promised to the peace-makers	9	63
	that they should be brothers to Him and should be		
29	called sons of God; [29] and He assured the meek that	5	
28	they should inherit the land of life; [28] and He pro-	4	
	mised the mourners that they should be entreated		
30	for[1]; [30] and He preached to the hungry satiety in	(6)	
38	His kingdom, [38] and them that weep He rejoiced by	Lk vi 21a 21b	
31	His promise; [31] and He promised to the compas-	Matt v 7	
32	sionate that they should be compassionated, [32] and	8	
	to them that are pure in their heart He said that		
34	they should see God. [34] And He promised again to	10	
	those persecuted for righteousness' sake that they		
35	should enter the kingdom of heaven, [35] and those	11	
	persecuted for His name's sake He assured happi-		
40	ness and ease in His kingdom. [40] And He changed	13	64
	our nature of dust and made us the salt of truth,		
	and delivered us from being the Serpent's food.		
41	[41] And He called us the light of the world, that He	14	
	might deliver us from the authority of death. And		

[1] ܢܬܦܪܩܘܢ ܐܡܪ, a rendering of παρακληθήσονται independent of what is found in *S C* and Pesh.

Diatessaron	Aphraates, *Hom.* II (= *Wright*, pp. 41—43)	*Gospel*	*Moes.*
cf **ix 14 ff.**	He made us good instead of evil and fair instead	(Matt v 45) *cf* Lk vi 35	
x 38	of hateful, and gave us love instead of hate. [38]And	Lk vi 45	
	He associated us with the good man that bringeth forth from his treasures good things, and delivered us from him that bringeth forth evil things from the superfluity of his heart. And because of His abundant love He made whole the wounds of		
xi 4 ff.	the infirm, [4]for He healed even the son of the Cen-	Matt viii 5 ff. Lk vii 2 ff.	74
33 ff.	turion because of his faith; [33]and He silenced the	Matt viii 24 ff. Lk viii 23 ff.	75
39 ff.	storms of the sea from us by His power [39]and	(Matt viii 28 ff.) Lk viii 27 ff.	
	chased away from us the devils of Legion because		
xii 7 ff.	of His kindness. [7]And in His compassion He saved	Matt ix 18 ff. Lk viii 41 ff.	
	alive the daughter of the chief of the synagogue,		
11 ff.	[11]and He cleansed moreover the woman from the	Matt ix 20 ff. Lk viii 45 ff.	76 ff.
33 ff.	impurity of blood [33]and opened the eyes of the	Matt ix 27 ff.	
42	two blind men that drew near to Him. [42]And He	Matt x 1 (Lk ix 1)	90
	gave also to His Twelve power and authority over every pain and infirmity, and to us also through		
44	them. [44]And He restrained us from the way of the	Matt x 5	91
	pagans[1] and of the Samaritans, and gave us power in His compassionateness that we should not be		
xiii 3	afraid [3]when they bring us up before the authori-	(Matt x 17) Lk xii 7, 11	(95)
20	ties of the world. [20]And He cast a division in the	Matt x 34 Lk xii 51	97
xv 9	earth because of his great tranquillity. [9]And He	Lk vii 48	114
	forgave many debts to the sinful woman because		
45	of His compassion; [45]and He made us worthy be-	Lk xiv 28	118
	cause of His kindness that we should build the		
xvi 7 ff.	tower at His expense, [7]and He cast forth from us	(Matt xii 43 ff.) Lk xi 24 ff.	120

[1] ܥܡܡܐ: thus agreeing with Pesh. against *S*, which has ܥܡܡܝܐ 'nations.'

Diatessaron	Aphraates, *Hom.* II (=*Wright*, pp. 41—43)	*Gospel*	*Moes.*
	unclean spirits, and made us a guest-chamber for		
25 ff.	His Godhead. [25]And He sowed in us the good seed,	Matt xiii 4 ff. Lk viii 5 ff.	124
	that we might give fruit an hundred-fold and		
xvii 27	sixty-fold and thirty-fold; [27]and He was set in the	Matt xiii 44	
	midst of the world in the likeness of the treasure		
51	set in the field. [51]And He shewed the power of	Lk iv 29 (*sic*)	131
	His majesty when He was thrown from the height		
xviii 38	into the depth and was not hurt[1]. [38]And He	Matt xiv 18	132
	satisfied the hungry in their fatigue from five		
43	loaves and two fishes, [43]even five thousand men	Matt xiv 21 Lk ix 17 Joh vi 13	
	besides children and women, and He shewed the		
	majesty of His glory. And because of His great		
xx 47 ff.	love [47]He heard the Canaanite woman and raised	Mat xv 22 ff. Mk vii 25 ff.	138
	up her daughter from her infirmity; and by the		
xxi 2 ff.	authority of Him that sent Him [2]He loosened the	Mk vii 32 ff.	
	tongue of the stutterer, the man whose ear was		
xxiii 4	hard of hearing. [4]And the blind saw His light,	Matt xv 31	(153)
	and through Him they glorified Him that sent		
xxiv 2 ff.	Him. [2]And when He went up to the hill to pray	Matt xvii 1 ff. Mk ix 2 ff. Lk ix 28 ff.	156
	the rays of the sun were overcome by His light;		
31	and He manifested His excellent power [31]in the	Matt xvii 15 Lk ix 39	(160)
	lad on whom the spirit came suddenly, and the		
	demon of lunacy by His word He removed.		
xxv 10	[10]And He gave us a type and likeness that we	Matt xviii 3	
	should be in the likeness of children and enter the		
xxvii 28	kingdom of heaven; [28]and He said and shewed	Matt xviii 10	165

[1] It is evident from the remarks of S. Ephraim (*Moes* 131) and his allusions to the passage elsewhere that Tatian took ὥστε κατακρήμνισαι αὐτόν to mean that the Nazarenes actually threw our Lord over their cliff. *S* on the other hand implies the reading ὥστε κρέμασαι αὐτόν, 'so as to *hang* him.'

Diatessaron	Aphraates, *Hom.* II (= *Wright*, pp. 41—43)	*Gospel*	*Moes.*
	concerning the little ones that no one should despise those whose angels at all times see the		
xxii 13 ff. (*cf* xxvii 41)	Father in heaven. [13]And He shewed moreover His perfect healing in that man who thirty and eight years was infirm and He increased His mercy unto him and made him whole.	Joh v 5 ff.	145 ff.
xxviii 49 ff.	[49]Again He gave us a command that we should	Matt xix 21 ff. Lk xviii 22 ff.	170 ff.
xxix 13	leave the world and turn unto Him, [13]and He	Lk xvi 15	
	revealed to us that he whom the world loveth		
xxviii 36 ff.	cannot please God [36]in the demonstration of the	Lk xii 16 ff.	174
xxix 14	rich man that trusted in his property, [14]and in	Lk xvi 19	
	that man who had delight in his good things		
18, 19	[18]and his end was in Sheol [19]and he asked for	23, 24	
	water on the tip of his little finger and no one gave		
27 ff.	to him. [27]And He hired us in the likeness of	Matt xx 1 ff.	175
	labourers that we should toil in His vineyard,		
xlvi 17	[17]He who is the Vineyard of Truth.	Joh xv 1	
	All these things our Life-giver because of His great love did for us. And we also, my beloved, shall		
(**xlv 20**)	be consorts in the love of the Messiah [20]when we	(Joh xiii 34)	
(**xxxiv 31**)	love one another, and we shall perform those two commandments whereon hangeth all the law, and the prophets also.	(Matt xxii 40) *etc.*	

This long series of allusions speaks for itself. Either Aphraates was turning over the leaves of his Diatessaron as he wrote, or (as is more probable) the Diatessaron was so deeply engraved on his mind that in epitomising our Lord's ministry he naturally followed the peculiar order adopted by Tatian. Even at the end, where his dependence on the Diatessaron is less marked, we have the Parables of Dives and Lazarus

(Lk xvi) preceded by the Rich Fool (Lk xii) and followed by the Labourers in the Vineyard (Matt xx), as in the Diatessaron.

There are many other passages where Aphraates evidently takes his Gospel quotations from the Diatessaron, as in the combination of Matt vii 18, Lk vi 45 in *A* 303 (= *Diat* x 37, 38), and the story of the Rich Young Man told in *A* 392 (= *Diat* xxviii 42 ff.). But mere confusion of the text of one Gospel with another does not in itself prove the use of a Harmony, and it must be remarked that some of the composite quotations present a different mixture from the Diatessaron as represented by S. Ephraim's Commentary and the Arabic. In any case it is evident that the writer who could make the statement that "Judas who betrayed our Saviour fell into the sea with a mill-stone about his neck" (*A* 253) was capable of inventing fresh combinations for himself. And if the remarkable agreement of the passage quoted above from *A* 41–43 with the order of the Diatessaron proves the use of the Diatessaron, there is another passage somewhat similar which almost as strongly suggests the use of the separate Gospels. Towards the end of the long Homily on Obedience, sent out as a synodical Letter in 344 AD, we read (Aphraates, *Hom.* 14 = *Wright*, pp. 301, 302):

And we, beloved,...nothing outside the law have we written to you, nor have we sent to you a treasure stolen, save from the seed and germ of the holy Scriptures. Counterfeit silver wherever it may go is not to be received, and old leaven is not to be kneaded with good flour. For [a]worn out wine-skins do not receive the power of wine and [b]a new patch when it lieth on a worn-out garment teareth it; and [c]the vine that receiveth cultivation giveth fruit and not wild grapes. And [d]the heart that is hard as a rock withereth the seed, and [e]the building which is set on the sand—the rain washeth it away and it falleth from the blast of the wind. And [f]the salt that hath lost its savour—the Serpent doth eat it, and [g]the inferior fish the fisherman doth cast out. For [h]the tares in their season are rooted out, and the chaff from the wheat at the last is separated. [i]And the inferior labourers in time despise hire; and [j]the foolish virgins whose oil fails—when the bridegroom cometh they are not able to buy. And [k]the steward who doth beat his fellow-servants—his lord cometh and doeth judgement upon him. And [l]the evil slave that hideth his lord's silver—he that gave it to him cometh and reckoneth with him for interest. And [m]the door-keeper that loveth slumber in the time of watchfulness is deprived of life. [n]The wise king while yet the battle is far off sendeth ambassadors and seeketh peace. These few reminders we have written to you, beloved, *etc.*

a.	*Diat* vii 35	Matt ix 17	Mk ii 22	Lk vi 37 f.
b.	34	16	21	36
c.		Isaiah v 2		
d.	*Diat* xvi 26	Matt xiii 5	Mk iv 5	Lk viii 6
e.	x 47 f.	Matt vii 26 f.		(Lk vi 49)
f.	viii 40 (xxv 24)	Matt v 13	(Mk ix 50)	(Lk xiv 34)
g.	xvii 30 f.	Matt xiii 48 f.		
h.	xvii 1 ff.	Matt xiii 24 ff.		
i.	xxix 27 ff.	Matt xx 1 ff.		
j.	xliii 9 ff.	Matt xxv 1 ff.		
k.	xliii 2 ff.	Matt xxiv 45 ff.		Lk xii 42 f.
l.	xliii 32 ff. (xxxi 45 ff.)	Matt xxv 24 ff.		(Lk xix 20 ff.)
m.	xlii 34		Mk xiii 34	
n.	xv 48 f.			Lk xiv 31, 32

Here we have a string of passages from S. Matthew's Gospel quoted one after the other, followed by one from S. Mark and another from S. Luke. It is, I venture to think, unlikely that Aphraates had here only the Diatessaron in view, and if the selection of passages was made from memory it argues great familiarity with the text to have kept the Gospels so distinct. It may be added that on the next page (*Wright* 303) Aphraates clearly quotes the Diatessaron.

S. Ephraim's use of the separate Gospels.

There cannot be a question that S. Ephraim habitually quoted from the Diatessaron. At the same time his voluminous writings contain some clear indications that he was aware of the existence of the separate Gospels, and he seems occasionally to have quoted from them.

The clearest instance is to be found in *Adv. Scrutatores* xxxv (*Ed. Rom.* vi 62 A)

ܗܟܝ ܕܒܪܫ ܠܝܘܚܢ. ܘܗܟܝ ܠܝܘܚܢ ܐܦ ܠܡܘܫܐ. ܕܒܪܫ ܫܦܪ ܠܟܬܒܐ
ܠܡܓܕܝ ܕܗܘ ܒܫܬܝ. ܘܫ ܕܒܪ ܠܟܠܗ ܐܚܪ ܠܫܥ. ܘܐܦ ܒܫܬܝ
ܠܗܘ ܐܚܪ ܠܟܬܒܐ. ܕܠܐ ܫܒܩܝ ܥܠܝܗ. ܒܪܫ ܫܦܪ ܒܗ
ܥܡܓܕܝ.

Like is the one 'In the beginning' to the other, and like to Moses is John also, in that at the beginning of their volumes they rebuked the scribes who disputed with

evil intent. The one preaches the God that came to suffering, and Moses also preaches the Nature that came to grief: it was in order that their hearers should not be made weak that in the beginning of their volumes they wrote the excellencies of them.

It is evident that the writer of this sentence was acquainted with the Fourth Gospel as a separate work, and not only through the Diatessaron. Moreover this view of the Gospel is curiously similar to that found in another passage, quoted by Philoxenus of Mabbog from S. Ephraim's Homily on Joh i 1, a Homily from which other quotations survive but which unfortunately is no longer extant in full.

Lamy ii 513 f. (corrected from B.M. Add. 12164; Burkitt, *S. Ephraim's Quotations*, p. 59 f.)

ܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܦܪܝܡ ܒܪ ܥܘܢܝܐ ܕܒܪ ܫܘܠܡܗ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܪܫܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܗܘ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܐܡܪ ... ܕܒܪ ܫܘܠܡܗ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܪܫܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܗܘ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܐܡܪ ... ܕܐܝܟ

His person. Of old, therefore, through Him all good things were done for the universe, and at the last against Him all evil things were done by mankind: John therefore left that which through Him had been created and began to tell concerning that which He suffered in His own person. For when the witness began that through Him were wonderful things created, he started to tell that against His person the shameful deeds were performed.

The point of view from which the aim of the fourth Evangelist is regarded in this extract is evidently the same as that of the previous extract. S. Ephraim therefore not only knew of the existence of the Gospel according to S. John, but also held a consistent opinion as to the plan and object of the work.

Moreover in his Commentary on Genesis (*Ed. Rom.* iv 18 D) he quotes the words of the Evangelist in Joh i 3. He says

ܐܡܪ ܥܠܘܗܝ ܕܡܪܝ ܟܠ ܗܘ ܒܗ ܘܡܢ ܠܐ ܚܕ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܥܒܕ ܒܗ ܘܐܡܪ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܕܐܬܒܪܝ

volume of the Mechitarists' edition, pp. 261–346, under the name of *Ṭargamnouṭiun Avetarani*, 'Exposition of the Gospel.' This seems to be taken from the same MS as that from which the Commentary on the Diatessaron is printed, and called by Moesinger A; it contains also some Homilies ascribed to S. Ephraim[1]. That the tract is a translation from the Syriac seems clear, and some of the quotations present a text such as would be used by a Syriac writer at the end of the fourth century[2]. But the style is not very like S. Ephraim's, and the number of direct quotations from the Scriptures is far larger than we should expect to find in a genuine work of his. Moreover some of the Old Testament quotations follow the LXX[3]—a sure sign that their text has been altered by the translator to agree with the version with which he was familiar. As in the case of the Commentary on the Diatessaron itself, where the same state of things to a slight extent prevails, it is only where the text of the quotations differs from that of the Armenian Vulgate that we can be quite sure that it represents the version used by the original Syriac writer. In cases where the Gospels are quoted by name it is therefore only too probable that the text has been doctored by the translator, and the ascription of the quotations to the several evangelists may have been the work of the same hand[4].

References to the Greek in Ephraim's Commentary.

The Armenian MSS of S. Ephraim's Commentary on the Diatessaron contain at the end a paragraph very loosely joined on to the rest of the work, in which the characteristics of the four Gospels are given, partly from Eusebius *HE* iii 39 (*Moesinger* 286). Of more importance are three passages in the body of the Commentary, in each of which "the Greek" is quoted. It is not quite clear what source is here intended by S. Ephraim, but it may be well to quote them in spite of their obscurity.

[1] Ephr. *Arm.*, Preface, p. 7.

[2] See especially p. 288, where we read "And again in another place he saith: 'I am the vine-yard (ա֊ղ֊ի) and ye are the vine (ո֊ր֊ք); every vine that in me is planted and giveth not fruit, it is plucked up.'" This corresponds to the very peculiar rendering of Joh xv 1 characteristic of the *Diatessaron*.

[3] E.g. the quotation from Isaiah xlix 14–16, p. 264.

[4] Quotations of the Gospels by name are to be found on p. 328 ff. Some of these so-called quotations are strangely paraphrastic, e.g. on p. 329 we read: "And again this is what Matthew says, 'When ye shall see the filth of corruption that it standeth in the place of holiness in Jerusalem—by Daniel the prophet it was announced, let him that readeth lay it to heart.'"

Moesinger 29 (corrected from Ishô'dâd)[1] = Lk ii 35

"*Thou shalt cause a spear to pass*, i.e. apostasy: but the Greek clearly says, *Thoughts*, it says, *will be revealed from many hearts*—those who doubted."

Moesinger 53 = Joh ii 2^{b}, 3

"[Mary] saw that the wine had failed and she knew that not without cause He had come to this wedding. The Greek writes: *He was sitting down and the wine failed.*"

Moesinger 116, 117 = Matt xi 25, Lk x 21

"And this that it says *I confess to Thee, heavenly Father;* the Greek says *I confess to Thee, O God, Father, Lord of heaven and earth.*"

The one thing that is certain about these tantalizing references is that in neither case does the Greek tell us anything 'clearly,' and from such ambiguous materials no certain conclusions can be drawn. My own working hypothesis is that all three are citations from memory of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, quoted for a single point, which is given correctly, while the rest of the quotation is inaccurate. On this view the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* is called 'the Greek,' because it is a translation of the four Gospels used by the Greek Church, in contradistinction to the Diatessaron which in S. Ephraim's day was used only by Syriac-speaking Christians.

The question is complicated by the unfortunate circumstance that neither *S* nor *C* is extant for Joh ii 2, 3. The text cited by S. Ephraim evidently represents ἐκλίθη (or ἀνεκλίθη or κατεκλίθη), while all our Greek MSS and of course the Peshitta have ἐκλήθη. It is just possible that the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* here had ܬܟܝܟ by a misreading of ἐκλήθη, just as in Lk iv 29 it represents κατακρημνίσαι by a word which implies [κατα]κρεμάσαι.

In the third passage (*Moesinger* 116, 117) it is quite conceivable that the addition of 'God' before 'Father' is a mere piece of carelessness and that the point of the quotation is to assert that the separated Gospels had *Lord of heaven and earth*, as indeed is the case. The Diatessaron probably had *Father of heaven* [*and earth*], in agreement with *e c ff i f* of the Old Latin and some Vulgate codices, which have in Lk x 21 *Domine Pater caeli et terrae.*

As to Lk ii 35, it is exceedingly doubtful what the passage from 'the Greek' is precisely meant to attest. The words *Thoughts will be revealed from many hearts* agree exactly with the Armenian Vulgate in Lk ii 35. It is of course possible, though not very probable that in all three cases 'the Greek' is an interpretative rendering of the Armenian translator of the Commentary, the original Syriac expression actually used by S. Ephraim having been a different technical term.

[1] Ishô'dâd (Harris' *Ephrem*, p. 34) says: ܕܐܡܪ ܕܢܥܒܪ ܠܪ ܚܕܝܕܐ ܕܢܦܠ ܒܗ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܬܠܡܝܕܘܗܝ ܕܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܒܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܪܥܐ ܡܛܠ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܒܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܪܥܐ. ܘܒܠܚܘ ܡܢ ܠܫܘܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܐܬܬܒ ܘܚܡܪܐ ܐܬܚܣܪ. Probably we should read ܐܬܬܒ ܘܚܡܪܐ ܐܬܚܣܪ in accordance with the text and order of the Armenian. It should be noticed that there is no reference in Ishô'dâd to 'the Greek.'

Internal evidences of the date of the Evangelion da-Mepharreshe.

The main result arrived at in the preceding investigation has been to shew that the Diatessaron was by far the most widely used form in which the Gospel was current among Syriac-speaking Christians before the 5th century. At the same time, as far back as our evidence goes, we still find traces of the use of the Four Gospels in Syriac. For the solution therefore of the question whether the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* be older or younger than the Syriac Diatessaron we must ultimately resort to internal evidence, i.e. to the character of the texts themselves.

First of all comes the question of the language in which the Diatessaron was originally composed. The *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* is a translation from the Greek. Even if the translator knew the Diatessaron in Syriac and was greatly influenced by it, it is nevertheless obvious that a text of the Four Gospels cannot be evolved from the Diatessaron alone. But it is conceivable that the Diatessaron of Tatian might have been a purely Syriac work, compiled out of the text of the Four Gospels then current in a Syriac Version. It is therefore important to shew that in a number of leading variants and in a number of renderings of noteworthy passages the Diatessaron differs widely from the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, representing, in fact, a different type of Greek text and a different style of translation.

Differences between the Ev. da-Mepharreshe and the Diatessaron in the underlying Greek text.

Matt iii 16 (*The Light at the Baptism*).

The evidence collected above on p. 115 from Barsalibi and others makes it quite clear that the Diatessaron contained an account of the 'mighty light' that appeared at the Baptism of Christ. This light is referred to by Justin (*Dial.* 88) and appears in what seems to be the oldest stratum of the Old Latin. But in *S* and *C* there is no trace of this addition.

Matt vi 1 ('Do not your *gift* before men').

There is a well-marked various reading in this verse and the Syriac

texts take different sides. The Diatessaron and *C* support δόσιν (=א[a] boh); *S* supports δικαιοσύνην (=א[*,b] B D 1&c latt.exc. *k*); syr.vg supports ἐλεημοσύνην (=ς, also *k*). It is natural to suppose that *S* represents the original text of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* in this passage and that *C* has been altered from the Diatessaron.

Matt xvi 2, 3 (*'The Face of the Sky'*).

The well-known interpolation of the saying about the Face of the Sky is omitted in *S* and *C* (=אB 13&c 157 arm). But, as we have seen already on p. 134, S. Ephraim quotes the words and his quotation contains the characteristically Old Syriac word ܚܙܘܬܐ (Lk xii 55), so that there is no room for suspicion that he was using the Peshitta. The interpolation must therefore have stood in the Diatessaron, which here again is found in agreement with D and the Latins.

Matt xvii 26 (*'as if a stranger'*).

The Arabic Diatessaron (xxv 6) in telling the story of the Tribute-money makes a notable addition. We read

"Jesus said to him 'The sons then are free?' Simon said to him 'Yea!' Jesus said to him 'Give thou also to him as a stranger.'"

This addition is attested for the Diatessaron by Ephraim (*Moes.* 161). It is found also in the Greek minuscule 713, but not in *S* or *C*.

Matt xxvii 16, 17 (*Jesus Barabbas*).

That the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* gave the name Jesus to Barabbas is definitely asserted by the common source of Bar Bahlul and Barsalibi (see above, p. 178 f.), and this reading is confirmed by *S*. It is found in 1*–118–209*, in the margin of several inferior MSS, and in the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary[1]. It was also the reading of Origen and there is good reason for thinking that it stood in the immediate archetype of B. But there is no trace of it in the Diatessaron, or in any Old Latin text.

Mk i 41 (*'being angry'*).

When the leper came and begged to be cleansed, our Lord granted his request, being, according to the ordinary text, *moved with compassion*

[1] Not however in the ancient fragments, published by Land, of a MS *of the Gospels*.

(σπλαγχνισθείς). This is also the reading of *S*. But the Diatessaron (*Moes.* 143, 144) very expressly supports the other reading *being angry* (ὀργισθείς), which is that of D and the Old Latin.

Mk vii 33 (*Spitting on the fingers*).

From the evidence collected above (p. 127 *f.*) we learn that the Diatessaron supported the curious reading ἔπτυσεν εἰς τοὺς δακτύλους αὐτοῦ (*He spat on His fingers and put it in the ears of that deaf-mute*), found in W^d. But *S* has another reading, which nevertheless differs from the ordinary text and agrees with cod. 28 and the 'Ferrar Group.'

Mk ix 15 (προστρέχοντες, προσχαίροντες).

The variation between these words may be conjectured to have arisen from an accidental permutation of letters. The majority of Greek MSS with *S* support προστρέχοντες, while D and the Latins support προσχαίροντες. The Arabic Diatessaron (xxiv 26) has

والناس لما ابصروا ايسوع حاروا وفي اثناء سرورهم اسرعوا وسالوا عن سلامته.

And the folk when they perceived Jesus were amazed and in the midst of their joy they ran and greeted him[1].

The regular way to use the Arabic Diatessaron is to compare it with the corresponding verse in syr.vg: the differences between the two texts represent readings of the original Harmony. Here there are two such differences, *viz.* 'Jesus' instead of 'him' in the first clause and the insertion of 'in the midst of their joy' before 'they ran' in the second clause. The first variant is attested by D *b c ff k*, the same authorities that read προσχαίροντες instead of προστρέχοντες, and it is evident that 'in the midst of their joy' stands ultimately for προσχαίροντες, the intermediate Syriac stage being, I suppose, בדחדא. The Arabic therefore has a conflate text containing equivalents both for προστρέχοντες and for προσχαίροντες. This double rendering can hardly be original. Doubtless the words corresponding to 'ran and' come

[1] The Arabic MSS are said to have حاروا, which may either be جأروا *they lowed* (like an ox), or جارَوا *they raced*, or جارُوا *they drew back*,—none of which are suitable, or explicable from the context. The corresponding word in the Peshitta and *S* is ܬܡܗܘ, and as the substantive حيرة *amazement* is used in Diat xlii 19 to render ܫܬܡܗܘܬ (Lk xxi 25, *sic*) I think there can be little doubt that the word here meant is حاروا *they were amazed*.

ultimately from the Peshitta, or the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* itself, and the true text of Tatian's Harmony in this passage agreed completely with the 'Western' authorities.

Mk xvi 9–20 (*The Longer Conclusion*).

The so-called 'Last Twelve Verses' of S. Mark are omitted altogether in *S*, the Gospel ending at xvi 8, which is immediately followed on the same column by the beginning of S. Luke. The verses are found in *C*. They also form an integral part of the Diatessaron, as is clear from the allusions in Aphraates and in the *Doctrine of Addai*. In this most important feature, therefore, the Greek text underlying the Diatessaron differed from the Greek text underlying *S*.

And there can be little doubt that *S*, which omits the verses, more truly represents the genuine text of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* than *C*, which inserts them. It is impossible to conceive any Syriac-speaking community suppressing the verses: the mere fact that positive evidence for their omission exists is enough to shew that the original form of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* did not contain them.

Lk vii 14 ('*Youth, youth!*').

The doubled Νεανίσκε, which is found in D and in the Old Latin *a* and *ff*, is expressly attested by Aphraates and by Ephraim, but is not found in *S*. There is no reason to suspect that *S* in this passage represents a revised text, so that here also the Diatessaron and the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* originally differed.

Lk xviii 30 ('*Seven-fold*').

According to S. Mark those that have left their lands and their families for Christ's sake and the Gospel's shall receive *an hundredfold*. In S. Matthew most authorities have *an hundredfold*, but a few ancient texts (including B and Origen) have *manifold*. In S. Luke most texts have *manifold*, but *S* and *C* have *an hundredfold*, while D and the Old Latin with the Diatessaron (*Moesinger* 88) have *sevenfold*. Here again we may conjecture that the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* and the Diatessaron originally differed. But it is possible in this particular case that the text of *S* and *C* has been assimilated to S. Mark (or

S. Matthew). Certainly no authorities except *S* and *C* have *an hundredfold* in S. Luke, but it would be somewhat strange to find in our Syriac MSS examples of harmonistic corruption, not in agreement with the Diatessaron text, but contrary to it.

Lk xxii 43, 44 (*The Bloody Sweat*) and Lk xxiii 34 (*'Father, forgive them'*).

These famous interpolations have a place in the Diatessaron, but are not found in *S*. They are however found in *C*, so the case is not absolutely parallel to the omission of Matt xvi 2, 3. Yet there can be little doubt that *S* in omitting these passages preserves the original text of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*. The intrinsic interest of the two passages must generally have afforded a strong motive for their insertion wherever they were known, and as a matter of fact S. Ephraim shews his appreciation of them by repeated quotations and allusions. According to a correspondent of Photius 'some of the Syrians' omitted Lk xxii 43, 44; this is probably a reference to the asterisk in the margin of the Harclean version.

Joh v 3, 4 (*The Angel at the Pool*).

The well-known interpolation about the Angel troubling the waters is absent from *C*, and though a leaf is here missing from *S* it is evident from the space that the passage was absent from *S* also. But it must have had a place in the Syriac Diatessaron, for Ephraim says (*Moesinger* 146): 'If they believe that the Angel by the water of Shiloah was healing the sick, how much rather should they believe that the Lord of the Angels purifies by baptism from all stain?' It is only in the interpolated form of the story that there is any mention of an 'angel.'

Joh x 8 ('those that came *before me*').

The words 'before me' in this saying of our Lord are omitted in many Greek MSS (headed by ℵ*), in all Latin authorities except those mentioned below, in the Sahidic, and in *S* and syr.vg. They are found in many Greek MSS (headed by B and D), in Clement and Origen, in the Bohairic and the Armenian, in Ephraim's Commentary (*Moesinger* 200), in Faustus (ap. Aug), in Lucifer, in Jerome's own quotations, in the

Latin Vulgate MSS *gat* and *fos*, and in the MS of syr.vg called by Mr Gwilliam 36. It is tempting to add this passage to the rest where *S* and the Diatessaron differ in the underlying Greek. *Gat* is one of a group of 'mixed' Vulgate MSS whose readings sometimes agree curiously with the Diatessaron, the other members being the Sangermanensis (*g*) and the Tours MS called by Wordsworth M. On the other hand, the only direct evidence that the words 'before me' were contained in the Diatessaron comes from *Moesinger* 200, where the verse is quoted in verbal agreement with the Armenian vulgate. We cannot therefore be sure that the translator of Ephraim's Commentary was not adapting his text to that of his vernacular Bible. This explanation however does not account for the presence of the words in an isolated MS of the Peshitta: it is somewhat difficult to account for them there, unless they slipped in through a scribe's reminiscence of Tatian's Harmony.

Differences between the Ev. da-Mepharreshe and the Diatessaron in rendering the Greek.

We now give a few examples of noteworthy divergence between the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* and the Diatessaron in rendering Greek words and phrases.

Matt v 4 (5) *παρακληθήσονται.*

'Happy is it for the mourners that they shall be *comforted*' (ܢܬܬܒܝܢ) is the rendering of *S C* and syr.vg, but Aphraates 41 in a string of allusions taken certainly from the Diatessaron[1] has 'He promised the mourners that they should be *entreated for*' (ܕܢܬܬܒܥܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ).

In Lk xvi 25 *παρακαλεῖται* is interpreted 'he is *besought*' by Aphraates 383 and Ephraim[2], in accordance with the oldest Latin tradition, but *S* and syr.vg have 'he *taketh his ease*' (ܡܬܢܚܡ). But in Lk vi 24 we read both in *S* and in Aphraates 390 'Woe to you, rich, that ye have received your *supplication*,' where 'your supplication' (ܬܫܚܠܟܘ) is a rendering of *τὴν παράκλησιν ὑμῶν.*

[1] See above, p. 181.

[2] See above, p. 136.

Matt x 5 *ἐθνῶν.*

'Go not in the way of the *peoples*' (ܥܡܡܐ) is the rendering of *S*, but the Diatessaron (as attested by Aphraates 42)[1] has 'Go not in the way of the pagans' (ܥܡܡܝܐ), and this rendering is adopted by the Peshitta, although ܥܡܡܝܐ should represent *ἐθνικῶν* rather than *ἐθνῶν.*

Other instances of a similar nature, where the rendering of the Diatessaron has been adopted in syr.vg in preference to that of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*, are

Matt v 16 *καλά·* ܛܒܬܐ *S C*, but ܫܦܝܪ Aphraates 14

Matt xxi 41 *ἐκδώσεται·* ܢܬܠ *S*, ܢܬܠ *C*, but ܢܬܢ Ephr. *Lamy* i 253

Mk xii 42 *λεπτὰ δύο·* ܬܪܝܢ ܡܐܬ *S*, but ܬܪܝܢ [ܡܐܬ] Ephr. *Nis.* 91[36]

Mk xii 42 *κοδράντης·* ܩܘܕܪܢܛܝ *S*, but ܩܘܕܪܢܛܐ Ephr. *Nis.* 91[36]

Lk vii 43 *ὀρθῶς·* ܫܦܝܪ *S C*, but ܟܫܪܝܬ Ephr. *Lamy* ii, p. xxii.

Mk ii 27 *τὸ σάββατον διὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐγένετο.*

The Sabbath was 'created' (ܐܬܒܪܝ), according to *S* and syr.vg; according to Ephraim's Commentary (*Moes.* 62, 148) the word used was either a literal rendering of *ἐγένετο* or some word like ܐܬܥܒܕ. The text of *S* might naturally be put down as a quite permissibly free rendering of *ἐγένετο*, but *ἐκτίσθη* is actually found in 1–118*–131–209 and in 700, and it is not very likely that these MSS have been directly influenced by the Syriac versions. We ought perhaps therefore to include this instance under the category of those passages where the Diatessaron differed from the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* in text as well as rendering.

Lk ii 14 *εὐδοκία.*

All Syriac authorities support *εὐδοκία*, but while *S* has the rare word ܪܥܝܢܐ 'favour,' the Diatessaron followed by the Peshitta has ܣܒܪ ܛܒ 'good hope.'

Lk iv 29 *ὥστε κατακρημνίσαι αὐτόν.*

As explained above, pp. 130, 183, the Diatessaron used words which implied that the people of Nazareth actually threw our Lord over the cliff. This is not supported by syr.vg, and *S* has 'so that they

[1] See above, p. 182.

might hang him.' The reading of *S* seems meant for ὥστε [κατα]κρεμάσαι αὐτόν, but as there is no trace of this elsewhere it is very likely nothing more than a translator's blunder. But be that as it may, the passage clearly illustrates the independence of the exegetical tradition of *S* and the Diatessaron.

Lk vi 28 τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς.

These words are translated in *S* by ܕܥܒܕܝܢ ܠܟ ‘that oppress you,’ while the corresponding words in the Diatessaron as represented by Aphraates 34 (see above, p. 110) are ܕܡܬܠܚܡܝܢ ܒܟ ‘that use violence to you.’ Neither of these renderings was adopted in syr.vg.

Lk xii 20 ἄφρων.

S and *C* have ܣܟܠܐ ‘lacking in mind’; the Diatessaron had ܠܐ ܠܒ ‘without heart’ (i.e. ‘without sense’): see above pp. 133, 157.

Lk xvii 21 ἐντὸς ὑμῶν.

This is translated ‘among you’ (ܒܓܘܟ) in *S* and *C*, but the Diatessaron (*Moes.* 209, 211) has ‘within your heart.’[1]

Joh xv 1 ἡ ἄμπελος ἡ ἀληθινή.

As explained above, pp. 143 *f.*, 151, the Diatessaron rendered this phrase by ‘the Vineyard of Truth,’ but *S* and the Peshitta have ‘the Vine of Truth.’

Lastly we must bring forward the most characteristic differences of all between the Diatessaron and the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* as represented by *S*,—those, namely, that concern Joseph and Mary.

Tatian was an Encratite, who rejected marriage. It is therefore not surprising that ‘he cut out the Genealogies and whatever other passages shew that the Lord was born of the seed of David according to the flesh,’[2] and that he made certain alterations in the wording of the story of the Nativity. It was well pointed out in Baethgen's *Evangelienfragmente* (pp. 93, 94) that these alterations are actually found in *C*; it is not too much to say that the agreements of *C* with Tatian in Matt i 18–25 were the strongest features in his argument for

[1] Here again the Peshitta agrees with neither rendering, having ‘in the midst of you’ (ܠܟ ܒܓܘ).

[2] Theodoret, *Haer* i 20.

the dependence of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* upon the Diatessaron. But the text of *S* in these verses is animated by a wholly different tendency, which can best be exhibited by placing the readings of our two MSS side by side with the Diatessaron fragments.

S	*C*	*Moesinger*
18. Now the birth of	18. Now the birth of	(p. 20) The birth of
the Messiah was thus:	the Messiah was thus:	Jesus Christ was thus:
When Mary his mother	When Mary his mother	When his mother Mary
was betrothed to Joseph,	was betrothed to Joseph,	was betrothed to Joseph,
before ever they drew near	before ever they drew near	and before ever she was
one to the other,	one to the other	given to a husband,
she was found with child	she was found with child	she was found with child
of the Holy Spirit.	of the Holy Spirit.	of the Holy Spirit.
19. Now Joseph her husband[a],	19. Now Joseph,	(p. 22) Joseph,
because he was upright,	because he was an upright man[b],	because he was an upright man,
was not willing	was not willing	was not willing
to expose Mary....	to expose Mary....	to expose Mary.
20. ...'Joseph son of David,	20. ...'Joseph son of David,	
do not fear to take[c]	do not fear to take[d]	(p. 23) 'Do not fear
Mary thy wife,	Mary thy betrothed,	to take Mary.'
for that which is being born from her	for that which is being born from her	
is from the Holy Spirit.	is conceived from the Holy Spirit.	
21. Now she will bear thee a son,	21. Now she will bear thee a son,	
and thou shalt call his name Jesus,	and his name shall be called Jesus,	
for he shall save alive	for he shall save alive	
his people from its sins....'	the world from its sins....'	
24. Now when Joseph	24. Now when Joseph	
arose from his sleep,	arose from his sleep,	
he did as the angel of the LORD commanded him,	he did as the angel of the LORD commanded him,	
and he took his wife	and he took Mary	(pp. 25, 26) He took her. ...
25. and	25. and purely was dwelling with her until	... purely he was dwelling with her until
she bare him a son,	she bare the son;	she bare the first-born.
and he called his name Jesus.	and she called his name Jesus.	

19 [a] [.]حلم [b] كاك كنا 20 [c] لحصد [d] لحدة (as *v.* 24)

Some estimate of the value of the remarkable text of *S* for the criticism of the Greek text of this passage will be given in the Note on Matt i 16, 25, but the difference of spirit between it and that of the Diatessaron "springt in die Augen," as the Germans say. And that *S* and not *C* here represents the original text of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* is clear from the first clause of *v.* 21 ('Now she will bear *thee* a son'), the corresponding Greek being τέξεται δὲ υἱόν. It is inconceivable that the person who produced *C*'s text of *v.* 25 should have been the translator of this clause, but it is quite easy to see how a reviser altering a text like that of *S* into conformity with the Diatessaron should have left unnoticed and uncorrected the tell-tale ܠܟ in *v.* 21.

So far therefore as this passage goes, the argument of Baethgen as to the dependence of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* upon the Diatessaron is not confirmed by the text of *S*; on the contrary, it is seriously weakened, for it shews to what a great extent Syriac texts which were originally different in spirit and in wording have actually been harmonised.

The main object of this long catalogue of differences between the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* and the Diatessaron has been to shew what great divergence in spirit, in rendering, and in the underlying Greek text, still exists in spite of all the natural tendencies to harmonisation. The last example from Matt i 18–25 shews the harmonisation in the act of being accomplished. It is true, and the fact has been insisted on by all the writers who have occupied themselves with these questions, that the agreements between the extant fragments of the Diatessaron and the text of *S* and *C* are too numerous and too intimate to be explained except by a common origin. But how far dare we say that the extant fragments of the Diatessaron truly represent the original text of Tatian's Harmony? If the earlier history of the Diatessaron at all resembled its later fortunes, it will have been continually suffering assimilation to the current Biblical text. The Syriac text from which Ciasca's Arabic was translated had been almost wholly corrected to the language of the Peshitta; Victor of Capua's Diatessaron has been almost wholly corrected to the language of the Vulgate. The quotations in Aphraates and Ephraim are the earliest form of the Syriac Diatessaron that we possess, and these quotations agree largely with the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*. But what right have we

to assume that every reading in the codex used by Aphraates or S. Ephraim faithfully represents the uncorrupted text as Tatian left it?

These considerations all tend to shew that the Syriac Diatessaron and the 'Old Syriac' version of the Four Gospels were, to a much greater extent than is generally believed, independent works. And to that extent all arguments as to the date of the 'Old Syriac,' that are based on the supposed original resemblance in text between the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* and the Diatessaron, fall to the ground. Yet it is hard to believe that the resemblances of rendering can all be made to disappear. He would be a bold man who would assert that both the Diatessaron and the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* had not always rendered ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός by 'My Son and my Beloved,' or called the νιπτὴρ in which our Lord washed the disciples' feet ܠܚܕ ܕܥܒܝܬܐ i.e. 'a λεκάνη for washing' (Joh xiii 5), or the ἐπιγραφὴ on the Cross ܦܠܛܝܢ, i.e. 'a πιττάκιον' (Lk xxiii 38). If these renderings be original, and the fulness of the evidence suggests that they are so, they cannot be accidental and the translator of the later text must have been acquainted with the earlier text.

The Ev. da-Mepharreshe influenced by the O.T. Peshitta.

The history of the text of the Old Testament in Syriac in its earlier stages is involved in obscurity. The Syriac Vulgate of the O.T., to which the name *Peshitta* properly belongs, is in the main a translation direct from the original Hebrew. It is clear that the translators had a good knowledge of the general meaning of the text and an excellent acquaintance with Jewish tradition. To such an extent is this the case that it seems impossible to avoid considering the Peshitta as the work of Jewish scholars: it will be enough here to refer to J. Perles's *Meletemata Peschitthoniana*. With this agrees the oldest Syriac tradition; according to Jacob of Edessa, the apostle Addai and the believing king Abgar sent to Jerusalem and to Palestine for men to translate the Old Testament from Hebrew into Syriac[1]. This is only another way of saying that the Church in Edessa at the earliest period

[1] R. Duval's *Litterature Syriaque*, p. 32.

of its existence took over from the Synagogue a vernacular rendering of the Old Testament.

The Peshitta as we have it now is this Jewish version, slightly revised from the Septuagint, especially in the Prophets. The revision was made long before the times of Aphraates and S. Ephraim, probably at the end of the 2nd century. But it did not alter the essential character of the version, and where the Peshitta differs from the Greek we may be fairly confident that it gives the text of the original translation from the Hebrew. In attempting to discover the date of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* it is therefore most important to ascertain whether that version of the Gospels shews any traces of the influence of the Old Testament in Syriac.

The answer must certainly be in the affirmative. In no other way can we explain the general acquaintance which the translator shews with the names and the phraseology of the Old Testament. This appears above all in the Genealogies, the portion of the text least influenced by the Diatessaron.

In the Genealogies the names are transliterated correctly into their Semitic form, an impossible task to one familiar with them only in their meagre Greek dress. It requires some acquaintance with the O.T. to know that Ναχὼρ in the genealogy given by S. Luke should be written ܢܚܘܪ, but Σαρουὲχ should be ܫܪܘܓ, and Λάμεχ should be ܠܡܟ. Yet *S* gets these right, together with all the other puzzling names of the Patriarchs. In Matt i 5 he rightly transliterates Βοὲς and Ἰωβὴδ by ܒܥܙ and ܝܘܒܕ[1]: if in Lk iii 32 we find the unbiblical names ܒܥܙ and ܒܥܕ, that is because the Greek here had Booc and (doubtless) ιωβηλ. And the accurate rendering of the Patriarchs' names is not due to extraordinary skill in recognising a Semitic name in Greek spelling, for in the names between David and Joseph that are otherwise unknown to history the Syriac transliterations do not always approve themselves: it is, at least, open to doubt whether ηλει (the father of Joseph) should be rendered הלי as *S* gives it, and not עלי or אלי or חילי.

But the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* does not merely give a scholarly representation of the names. In several cases it gives the specifically *Syriac* representation. Thus in Matt i 5 *Ruth* is spelt ܪܥܘܬ in *S* and

[1] *C*, supported by A^a, has ܒܥܙ, a Syriac corruption, which shews however that the lists have not been revised.

A, ܒܥܙܝܪ in *C*, with the guttural after the '*r*,' in accordance with the Syriac Old Testament, a spelling which is not suggested either by the Greek, which has Ῥούθ, or by the Hebrew and the Targum, which have רות. Similarly ܫܠܡ, for Σαλμών, agrees with the Peshitta text of Ruth iv 20, 21, but not with the Hebrew or the Greek[1].

The dependence of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* upon the Syriac Old Testament affords the explanation of another very curious circumstance, *viz.* that *S* and *C* are almost the only first-rate textual authorities that spell the names of king Asa and king Amon correctly[2]. The Evangelist spelt these names ασαφ and αμως, following the forms then current in Greek. 'Amos' is still current in the Greek O.T., but 'king Asaph' has been corrected to 'king Asa' through the influence of Origen's *Hexapla*: sufficient evidence however still remains to shew that 'Asaph' was once the prevailing spelling both in the Books of Kings and in Jeremiah. We may therefore safely infer that the Greek MS from which the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* was translated had Ἀσάφ and Ἀμώς, not Ἀσά and Ἀμών, and that the reason why we find ܐܡܘܢ and ܐܣܦ in *S* and *C* is because the translator knew the true names of these Jewish kings from the Syriac Bible.

The influence of the Syriac Old Testament upon the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* is by no means confined to the Genealogies. The O.T. quotations which occur in *S* and *C* are of course in general, like the rest of the text, a translation from the Greek. But now and again *S* and *C* leave the Greek and agree with the Peshitta, even in places where it differs from the Hebrew and the LXX. A few instances are given below.

Matt iv 6 = Ps xci (xc) 12

'*On their arms* they shall bear thee up' *S C*.

This agrees exactly with the Peshitta in Ps xci 12 (ܥܠ ܕܪܥܝܗܝ), the Hebrew being על כפים. But the Greek has ἐπὶ χειρῶν ἀροῦσίν σε, and with this agrees Matt iv 6 syr.vg.

Curiously enough the parts are reversed in the parallel passage

[1] Another instance, outside the Genealogies, is ܨܗܝܘܢ for *Zion*, Matt xxi 5, Joh xii 15.

[2] ασαφ is read in Matt i 7, 8 by ℵBCD^{luc} 1–209 543 700 *k c g q* sah boh aeth arm, by the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus (3rd cent) and by the Genealogy in Ciasca's Arabic cod. A.
αμως is read in Matt i 10 by ℵBCD^{luc} al^{mult} latt (exc *a f* vg) sah boh arm and by the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus.

Lk iv 11. There syr.vg has *on their arms* in agreement with the O.T. Peshitta, while *S* has *on their hands* in agreement with the Greek.

Matt x 25, xii 24, &c.

'*Beelzebub.*'

In 2 Kings i 2 ff the Peshitta has ܒܥܠܙܒܒ *Bĕʿelzĕβôβ* in agreement with the Hebrew בַּעַל זְבוּב. But the Greek has Βεελζεβούλ, with λ at the end; so also has the Old Latin, and even the extant Armenian and Arabic texts of the Diatessaron. The Syriac versions and the Latin Vulgate stand alone in ending the word with the letter *b*. In the case of the Latin Vulgate this is certainly due to S. Jerome's knowledge of the Old Testament in Hebrew; and similarly the Syriac N.T. shews an acquaintance with a translation made direct from the Hebrew, which can be none other than the Old Testament Peshitta itself.

Matt xiii 35 = Ps lxxviii (lxxvii) 2

'*From of old*' (ܡܢ ܩܕܡ) *S C.*

This agrees exactly with the Peshitta of Ps lxxviii 2, which is a translation of מני קדם. But the Greek of Matt xiii 35 is *ἀπὸ καταβολῆς* [*κόσμου*]. There can be little doubt here that the rendering adopted by the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* is derived immediately from the Syriac Old Testament.

Lk iii 4—6 = Isaiah xl 3—6

This long quotation is entirely assimilated to the Peshitta text of Isaiah in *S* and *C*. We may note especially the clause in *v.* 4,

ܘܬܫܪ ܒܫܒܠ ܡܫܪ ܠܐܠܗܢ

And direct in the Plain paths for our God.

This is word for word with Isai xl 3^{b} in syr.vg. But the Greek N.T. has *εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους αὐτοῦ*, and neither in S. Luke nor the LXX is there anything to correspond with *in the Plain* (i.e. בערבה). We see therefore that the O.T. Peshitta influenced the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* in S. Luke as well as in S. Matthew.

It follows, as an obvious corollary from these examples, that the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* is later than the translation of the O.T. from Hebrew into Syriac. The imperfect preservation of the Diatessaron in its earlier forms makes it practically impossible to discover to what extent it was influenced by the O.T. Peshitta, but as far as the evidence goes the tests which prove the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* to have been later than the Peshitta tend to break down when applied to the Diatessaron. In the first place, the Genealogies are missing; the lists found in the 23rd Homily of Aphraates cannot be ascribed to the original form of Tatian's Harmony in the face of the definite statement of Theodoret that the Genealogies had been left out. Then again the evidence, so far as it goes, suggests that the Diatessaron had *Beelzebul* with the Greek, not *Beelzebub* with the Syriac O.T. As for the quotations in the Gospel from the O.T., it happens that the phrases which supplied the clearest evidence in the case of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* are not preserved in our fragmentary authorities for the Diatessaron text; but Aphraates 330, when quoting Lk iii 6, ends the verse with

And all flesh shall see the Life of God,

i.e. we have a rendering of καὶ ὄψεται πᾶσα σὰρξ τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ, while on the other hand *S* and *C* give us *And all flesh shall see it together, because the mouth of the* Lord *hath spoken*, in agreement with Isaiah xl 5[1]. In this quotation, therefore, the Diatessaron is much less influenced by the Syriac O.T. than the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*. At the same time we must remember that the preceding clause in Aphraates' quotation agrees verbally with *S C* and the Syriac of Isai xl 4[b]. It is hard to believe that the text of *S C* and Aphraates, *viz.*

ܪܗܛܢܐ ܪܘܫܐ ܪܝܗܛܐ ܪܥܠ ܪܒܝܫ ܪܡܝ

the rough shall become a level and the broken country a plain,

can be an independent translation of ἔσται τὰ σκολιὰ εἰς εὐθείας καὶ αἱ τραχεῖαι εἰς ὁδοὺς λείας.

Thus the Diatessaron itself appears to be later than the translation of the O.T. into Syriac, but its text seems to have been less influenced

[1] The N.T. Peshitta of Lk iii 6 agrees with Aphraates (i.e. with the Diatessaron), but ܐܠܗܐ ܒܫܡ is changed into ܐܠܗܐ ܫܘ.

by the text of the Syriac Old Testament than was that of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe.*

At the beginning of this chapter I confessed that the early history of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* belongs to the region of uncertainty and conjecture. In offering now a conjecture concerning the historical circumstances which gave birth to that version of the Gospels I am well aware of its precarious nature in the present state of our knowledge. At the same time I venture to think that the evidence is sufficient to enable us to make a guess, which may be useful at least as a working hypothesis.

First as to the *Diatessaron.* The Greek name that Tatian gave to his Harmony, the fact that he himself was a Greek author, and—most important of all—the existence of direct though degenerate descendants of the Diatessaron in the Codex Fuldensis and the mediæval Dutch Harmonies, all these things tell us that the Syriac Diatessaron is not an original work but a translation of a previously existing Greek Harmony. In the absence of evidence to the contrary there is, I consider, no reason why we should not accept Tatian as the author and compiler of this Greek Harmony and believe that he brought it with him when he finally returned to the East about AD 173. Doubtless it was very soon rendered into Syriac, probably under his immediate supervision.

This part of our hypothesis becomes all the more probable when we consider the number of Western readings—Western in the strict geographical sense—which belong to the Diatessaron, but are otherwise unattested except by Codex Bezae and Old Latin texts.

We come now to the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe.* The first introduction of the Four Gospels to a Christian community is surely a very great event in its history. This is especially the case in a community where a rival to the Four Gospels exists, even a friendly rival such as the Diatessaron was. Is there then any known event in the history of the Syriac-speaking Churches, which might seem to indicate a breach of continuity, an inauguration of a fresh order of things? At such a time we might look for changes in the vernacular Bible.

What do we know of the early history of the Syriac-speaking Church in its earliest seat, at Edessa? It has been well shewn—and here I must refer again once for all to the admirable work of the Abbé Tixeront,

called *Les Origines de l'Église d'Édesse*[1]—that what we know is the succession of the Bishops. That succession is

Addai
Aggai

Palûṭ (*about* 200 AD).
'Abshelamâ
Barsamyâ (*about* 250–60)
.....
.....
Conâ (*died* 313).

Between Barsamya and Cona there is no real breach of continuity, but the names of the bishops are uncertain: the Abbé Tixeront (p. 152) gives some very plausible reasons for supposing that the names were Tiridates and Shalula.

The real break comes between Aggai and Palûṭ. According to the tradition of the Church of Edessa, as embodied in the *Doctrine of Addai*, the evangelist Addai had been sent to Edessa by the apostle Judas Thomas, and Aggai was the disciple of Addai. But Palûṭ was not ordained bishop by Aggai. The story goes that the persecution broke out so suddenly that Aggai was martyred before he was able to ordain his successor, so that Palûṭ had to go for his consecration—to *Serapion of Antioch*. Thus suddenly we emerge from legend into the light of history.

Serapion was bishop of Antioch from 190 to 203 AD, and is known to us from Eusebius (*HE* vi 12) as the ecclesiastic who suppressed the Gospel of Peter in the neighbouring Church of Rhossus. There is absolutely no reason why the Edessene Church should have traced their succession to him, except that historical fact compelled them so to do, instead of giving the honour to their somewhat mythical founder Addai. Not that Addai and Aggai are altogether unhistorical, but the stories concerning them are obviously legendary in all their details, and

[1] See especially pp. 140 ff, 149, 151; also the *Acts of Barsamya* (in Cureton, ASD), p. 72. For a more extended attempt to fix the succession of the Edessene Bishops I venture to refer the reader to my book *Early Eastern Christianity* (S. Margaret's Lectures for 1904), especially pp. 17—36 and 75—78.

most modern scholars believe that Syriac tradition has placed them a century too early.

We have, therefore, as the history of the evangelisation of Mesopotamia a mission in the middle of the second century under Addai and Aggai, a mission which at first met with success, but later on was almost stamped out by persecution. Then comes the mission of Tatian in the last quarter of the second century, in which the Diatessaron makes its appearance. In a third period the organisation of the Catholic Church makes a fresh start under Palûṭ about the year 200 AD, and Palûṭ derived his commission from Serapion of Antioch, a prelate whom we know to have been especially active in promoting the ecclesiastical use of the Four Gospels. It is difficult to believe that the origin of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* is unconnected with the policy of Serapion and the mission of Palûṭ.

If this theory be adopted, we must think of Palûṭ as a Christian of Edessa familiar with the wording of the Diatessaron, but trained by Serapion to disregard its authority. The agreements between the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* and the Diatessaron are in the main agreements of language, in the choice of words and the style of translation; the differences between the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* and the Diatessaron are differences in the underlying Greek text and in striking renderings of single phrases. In other words, the influence of the Diatessaron on the translator was the sort of influence that the English Authorised Version exercises on the work of an English scholar. It modifies the phrase and the cadence of a new translation, but does not as a rule affect the result in essentials.

Formerly I thought it a serious objection to this view that the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, especially as represented by *S*, contains many 'better' readings than the Diatessaron. It has been argued above[1], for instance, that *S*, which omits the 'last twelve verses of S. Mark,' presents an older form of the version than *C*, which retains them, because we cannot conceive of an adequate reason for their suppression. The Diatessaron contains these verses, together with many other 'Western Interpolations' which are absent from *S*; must not therefore *S* be the older?

The answer to this objection is that the two cases are not really

[1] See p. 194.

analogous. In the case of two MSS of the same translation of the canonical Gospels into Syriac, which nevertheless differ here and there in text, there is a very strong presumption that the text that has the critically 'better' readings is the more faithful representative of that translation. And this is especially true of the particular case of the retention or omission of [Mk] xvi 9–20, for it is easy to imagine motives for supplying what would seem a defect in the shorter text, while it is difficult to imagine motives for cutting these verses out when once they had been supplied. But the case is different when we compare a translation of the Four Gospels with a translation of Tatian's Harmony. Here there will be differences, intentional differences, from the very beginning. The fact that the translation of the Four Gospels should be made at all is in itself a proof that in the mind of the translator the Diatessaron was not of canonical authority. On every page, in every paragraph, there were omissions, for the Diatessaron is fuller than either of the Four Gospels taken singly. Moreover in the 'last twelve verses' of S. Mark we have not to do with a single section omitted in the middle of a familiar narrative. In the Diatessaron, as was natural, this section was divided up among passages taken from the other Gospels; and, as the substance of [Mk] xvi 9–20 is drawn from the other three Gospels (except the statement about Christ sitting at the right hand of God), it would require some attention from one who had never seen the so-called 'last twelve verses' to discover their presence in the Diatessaron[1].

When once it is conceded that the Greek texts, upon which the Diatessaron and the 'Old Syriac' were respectively based, were themselves different and came from a different part of the Christian world, the excellence or inferiority of the readings attested by the two texts affords no guide to their chronological sequence.

According to the view here suggested, the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* in its original form gives in essentials a faithful representation of the text of the Four Gospels as received at Antioch about 200 AD. The wording of the translation has been often influenced by the renderings found in the Syriac translation of Tatian's Diatessaron, a work familiar

[1] There is nothing to suggest that early copies of the Diatessaron had, like Ciasca's Arabic, notes indicating from which Gospel the several passages were excerpted.

to the translator of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*; to this cause also we may put down the many instances of minor harmonistic readings, so far as they have not been brought into our MSS by a similar tendency on the part of Syriac scribes.

The Greek text that underlies Tatian's Harmony is radically different from that attested by the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. It represents the Gospels as read in Rome in the third quarter of the second century. The fundamentally Western character of this text appears on every page, and it is only by what we may call a historical accident, *viz.* the personal history of Tatian himself, that it was ever found east of Italy. We know something of this type of text from Codex Bezae and its Latin allies, from Justin Martyr and from S. Irenaeus. There are probably few readings of the Diatessaron which are not otherwise represented in our *apparatus criticus*.

But from our ordinary sources of information we know next to nothing about the type of Greek text current at Antioch about the year 200. It is this that makes the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* so valuable to us. It is a textual witness from an otherwise unsurveyed part of the Christian world. All the more, therefore, is it necessary to use our MSS of this version with the most careful discrimination, and especially that we may avoid assigning to the Eastern text, which is the real characteristic of the Old Syriac version of the Four Gospels, Western readings which have been introduced into our MSS from the Western text of Tatian's Diatessaron. This discrimination will be the main object of the following chapter.

It is possible that the date assigned in the foregoing paragraphs to the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* is too late, and that the version may have originated in the epoch of the first mission, the times of Addai and of Aggai. The most probable form in which this view can be held is, I think, that brought forward by Dr Arthur Hjelt in his book *Die altsyrische Evangelienübersetzung und Tatians Diatessaron*.

Dr Hjelt regards the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* as older than the Syriac Diatessaron, but he considers the several Gospels to have been the work of different translators, that of S. Matthew being the oldest and S. Luke the latest. The main support of his theory is that the same Greek words and phrases are often differently rendered in *S*

in the different Gospels. A number of instances are collected by Dr Hjelt on pp. 96–107 of his book, some of which are sufficiently striking, and to those who are prepared to regard a text practically identical with that of the Sinai Palimpsest as the earliest version of the Gospel in Syriac they certainly present a formidable appearance. Dr Hjelt does not, I venture to think, allow sufficiently for the difficulties of consistency. My own English translation of *S* and *C* is fairly consistent; but when I call to mind the numerous irregularities which slipped in, some of which were only corrected in proof and some of which, alas, still remain, I cannot wonder that irregularities of rendering are to be detected in the Syriac text of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. Moreover, some of the most curious irregularities are not conterminous with the several Gospels. How irregular, for instance, are the Syriac renderings of εὐθύς, εὐθέως! Or again, the rendering of Ἰησοῦς by ܡܪܢ *our Lord*, one of the most striking features of *S*, is not characteristic of the whole of Matt and Joh, but only of parts of these Gospels, and it also occurs in Lk viii 40[1]. We may also bring forward against Dr Hjelt's theory a number of very curious agreements between the text of the several Gospels in the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*, which seem to imply a common origin: one striking example is the rendering of ἐν στολαῖς by ܒܣܛܘܠܐ both in Mk xii 38 and Lk xx 46, as if it were ἐν στοαῖς.

It will not be necessary to examine Dr Hjelt's interesting lists in detail. If once we admit that the Diatessaron preceded the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*, another explanation of the differences between the rendering of parallel passages lies at our disposal. It is simply this:— that in one passage the translator allowed himself to reproduce the already familiar text of the Diatessaron, in another he made his own new rendering from the Greek that lay before him. Dr Hjelt observes that the text of S. Matthew is more freely rendered in *S* than the text of S. Luke: the explanation is, that there are more undigested fragments of the Diatessaron text in the First Gospel than in the Third.

For instance Dr Hjelt notes (p. 103) that οἰνοπότης is rendered

[1] See above, pp. 85*ff*., 97*ff*., and the Note on ܐܟܝܠ Matt xiv 27 *S*. Note also that τέλος is ܣܘܦܐ in Matt xxiv 6, 14, and Mk iii 26, but ܣܘܦ Matt x 22, xxiv 13, xxvi 58, Mk xiii 7, 13, Lk xxi 9. In Matt xiii 39, 40, xxiv 3, συντέλεια is rendered by ܣܘܦܐ, but in Matt xiii 49 by ܣܘܢ.

by ܣܒܐ 'a drinker' in Matt xi 19 *S C*, but in Lk vii 34 *S* and *C* have ܣܒܝ 'a drunkard.' Here the evidence of Ephraim[1] makes it practically certain that ܣܒܐ was the rendering found in the Diatessaron. In S. Matthew, therefore, the translator of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* adopted the rendering of Tatian's Harmony, while in S. Luke he chose to give a literal rendering. It is not necessary to assume in such passages that the text of both *S* and *C* have been subsequently assimilated to the Diatessaron, though this may frequently have occurred; but I am sure it is only in accordance with ordinary human nature, that a translator should sometimes follow previously existing renderings and sometimes translate for himself. It must of course be remembered that Dr Hjelt regards the original text of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* as older than the Diatessaron and therefore uninfluenced by any previous rendering of the Gospel into Syriac.

It is naturally impossible to know how long the translator of the 'Old Syriac' was occupied with his task: for aught we know it may have been the work of several seasons, and the translator's style may have slightly changed in the interval. But if it be granted that the Diatessaron preceded the 'Old Syriac' version of the Four Gospels and exercised a decided influence on the wording of the version, it does not appear to me necessary to suppose that it was the work of more than one translator or that the translator made use of more than one Greek exemplar. And that this translator was none other than Bishop Palûṭ, the disciple of Serapion of Antioch, I now consider a probable surmise.

On the view here advocated, the view which dates the Syriac Diatessaron about 173 AD and the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* about 200 AD, the earliest Church in Edessa under Addai and Aggai had no New Testament. For the first generation of Syriac-speaking Christians the Law and the Prophets sufficed. It is just this absence of an available text of the Four Gospels which explains the instant and continued success of the Diatessaron in Mesopotamia in contrast to its failure throughout the rest of the Christian world.

[1] *Lamy* ii 747 : see above, p. 118.

CHAPTER V.

THE TEXTS OF *S* AND OF *C*.

THE application of our ancient MSS to the correction or the confirmation of the Greek text of the Gospels is the ultimate aim for which they are studied, but before the readings of such MSS as *S* or *C* can be profitably so applied many preliminary questions have to be settled. In the previous chapters a sketch of the history of the version to which *S* and *C* belong has been attempted: we have now to consider how far *S* and *C* preserve the original form of that version. The *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, as it left the translator's hands, may have been a fairly faithful representative of the Greek text current at Antioch about 200 AD; but the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, as known to us, consists of the text of *S* and of *C*. If these MSS represent the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* as revised at some later period from the Greek, we cannot use them with confidence as evidence for the text current at Antioch at the end of the second century.

The need of some such investigation is all the more pressing, because of the frequent serious divergences between *S* and *C*. The most obvious explanation of these divergences is, of course, the Syriac Diatessaron, and doubtless in most instances it is the true explanation. But we must not always assume that, where *S* and *C* differ, the reading which is not that of the Diatessaron is the original 'Old Syriac.' It is possible that in any given case the original 'Old Syriac' may have agreed with the Diatessaron, and that *S* or *C* may have been revised at a later period to agree with a Greek MS.

We may take as an example Joh iv 25, where the Greek has οἶδα ὅτι Μεσσίας ἔρχεται, ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστός· ὅταν ἔλθῃ ἐκεῖνος, ἀναγγελεῖ ἡμῖν ἅπαντα. I give the Syriac texts in parallel columns:

S	*C*
ܗܘ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܬܐ ܕܟܕ ܡܐ ܕܗܘ ܐܬܐ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܢܗܒ ܠܢ.	ܝܕܥ ܐܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܬܐ ܕܟܕ ܡܐ ܕܗܘ ܐܬܐ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܢܦܫܪ ܠܢ.
Lo, the Messiah cometh;	*I know that the Messiah cometh;*
and what time he hath come,	*and what time he hath come,*
everything he will give.	*he shall explain to us everything.*

The Diatessaron (*Moes.* 141) has: "Lo, Christ cometh; and when he shall come, everything he will give us." Thus the remarkable paraphrase found in *S* is practically identical with the text of the Diatessaron, while *C* follows the Greek. It should further be noticed that syr.vg. which of course agrees with the Greek, has ܢܠܦ 'teacheth' where *C* has ܢܦܫܪ 'explaineth.' The text of *C* is therefore certainly not derived from syr.vg: indeed I may say that I know of no instance where the text of either *S* or *C* has been assimilated to the Peshitta. The Peshitta often agrees with *S* or *C*, but in such cases we may be sure that the text is older than Rabbula.

If it were only asked which is the original rendering of Joh iv 25 into Syriac, the answer is easy: without doubt the bold paraphrase attested by *S* and the Diatessaron is more primitive than the literal version found in *C*. But it is not so easy to decide which is the original reading of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. Assuming that the paraphrase really belongs to Tatian's Harmony there are two possible explanations of what we find in *S* and *C*. We may suppose that *C* gives the translation made by Palûṭ (if it be he) about 200 AD, while *S* has been assimilated by some later scribe to the familiar text of the Diatessaron; or we may suppose that Palûṭ was content to accept the Diatessaron rendering in this verse as adequate, and that what he wrote has been faithfully preserved in *S*, but that *C* represents the work of a later reviser who has brought the text of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* into closer agreement with the Greek.

In the particular instance of Joh iv 25 I incline to think that the first alternative is correct, that *C* gives the original rendering of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* and that *S* has been altered to agree with the Diatessaron. But this is not always the case,

and the two alternatives that I have put forward challenge the judgement on almost every page of our MSS. It is therefore necessary to ask whether *S* or *C* shews any signs of revision from Greek MSS later than that used as the basis of the translation itself.

Out of this part of the inquiry *S* emerges with flying colours. There are very few instances where *S* shews a text which seems to have been mended from the Greek. In other words, the text of *S* is almost always either that of the original *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* or that of the Diatessaron, with the exception of a few simple blunders of transcription such as no MS, ancient or modern, is entirely free from.

It is quite otherwise with *C*. There are readings in *C* that cannot be explained from the Diatessaron at all. Foremost among them is the occurrence of [Mk] xvi 9—20: these verses were present in the Greek text underlying the Diatessaron, but they could not be reconstructed from the Diatessaron itself[1]. Equally convincing is the occurrence in *C* of *some*, but not *all*, of the greater 'Western Interpolations.' These Interpolations may be defined as the substantial additions to the Gospel story which are found in Codex Bezae (D) and the 'African' Latin, but are absent from Codex Vaticanus (B). They appear to form a single series, probably derived from a glossed edition of the Four Gospels issued somewhere in the West about the middle of the 2nd century. The exact limits of the series are of course impossible to ascertain, but the twelve readings given below certainly form part of it, and that the most important.

Two facts about the distribution of the 'Western Interpolations' come out with unmistakeable clearness from this tabular arrangement. We see in the first place that the 'Old Syriac,' as represented by *S*, is entirely free from them; and secondly, that it is the 'African' Latin which has incorporated the largest number. Had Codex Bobiensis (*k*) survived complete, I think it not unlikely that it would have contained the whole series. The Diatessaron, as might have been expected from a text essentially Western in origin, contains a large number of the Western additions to the canonical text. *C*, on the other hand, occupies a middle position. The fact that it omits the additions to Matt xvi 2, 3, and to Joh v 3, 4, which are otherwise attested by nearly the whole mass of 'Western' evidence, is enough to shew that

[1] See above, p. 209.

In the following Tables the critical symbol for a MS indicates that the MS in question contains such and such a reading; 'om.' indicates that it omits the reading; '—' indicates that it is not extant.

The Greater Interpolations.

Authorities quoted.....	D	lat.afr		lat.eur		syr.vt			*'Received Text'*
		k	(*c*)*e*	*a* (or *n*)	*b*	Tatian	*C*	*S*	
1. Matt iii 15 *fin.* (The Light at the Baptism)	om.	—	—	*a*	om.	*Tat*	om.	om.	om.
2. Matt xvi 2[b], 3 ("The Face of the Sky")	D	—	*e*	*a*	*b*	*Tat*	om.	om.	ς
3. Matt xx 28 *fin.* ("Seek from little to increase")	D	—	*e*	*a*	*b*		*C*	[om.]	om.
4. Mk xvi 3 *fin.* (The Light at the Resurrection)	om.	*k*	—	— [om. *n*] —		[om.]	—	om.	om.
5. Lk vi 5 (The Man working on the Sabbath)	D	—	om.	om.	om.		—	—	om.
6. Lk ix 55 ("Ye know not what spirit ye are of...")	(D)	—	*Cypr e*	*a*	*b*		*C*	om.	(ς)
7. Lk xxii 43, 44 (The bloody Sweat)	D	—	*c e*	*a*	*b*	*Tat*	*C*	om.	ς
8. Lk xxiii 2,5 ("Loosing the Law...our sons & wives...")	om.	—	*c e*	om.	(*b*)		om.	om.	om.
9. Lk xxiii 34[a] ("Father, forgive them")	om.	—	*c e*	om.	om.	*Tat*	*C*	om.	ς
10. Lk xxiii 53 (The great Stone)	D	—	*c* om.	om.	om.		om.	om.	om.
11. Joh v 4 (The Angel at the Pool)	(om.)	—	*Tert e*	*a*	*b*	*Tat*	om.	[om.]	ς
12. Joh vii 53—viii 11 (The Woman taken in Adultery)	D	—	*e*	om.	*b**	om.	om.	om.	(ς)

The text of *e* is predominantly 'African,' but it shews many traces of later revision, especially about Lk xxiii. On the other hand *c* presents a particularly good text at the end of Lk, only slightly interpolated from the Vulgate. I have therefore added the readings of *c* in Lk xxii, xxiii.

the series of Interpolations forms no part of the ground-text of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. The members of the series which are actually found in *C* must therefore have been brought in from some other source, and from their very nature it is difficult to believe that the source can have been in every case the Diatessaron itself. The episode of the bloody Sweat may certainly have come from the Diatessaron, although even in that case it is remarkable that the interpolation should have been made in S. Luke's Gospel. But it is very difficult to believe that 'Father, forgive them,' was inserted in *C* just before Lk xxiii 34^{b}, exactly at the place where the words are inserted in Greek MSS, if we are to suppose that the interpolator took them from the Diatessaron. For according to the Arabic Harmony (lii 6, 7), apparently supported by S. Ephraim's *Commentary*, the saying 'Father, forgive them,' was assigned by Tatian to our Lord's last moments, whereas in the MSS of the Gospels the saying is always placed at the moment of crucifixion.

We learn therefore from a consideration of the 'Western Interpolations' that *C* has been revised from a Greek MS, and that this MS contained some at least of the more common Western additions to the text, besides the 'Longer Conclusion' to S. Mark. That such MSS were to be found in the East from the 4th century onwards is certain. It was, for instance, just such a MS that Thomas of Harkel used for the emendation of the Philoxenian version of the Acts, and just such a MS must have been used to correct the immediate ancestor of Codex Beratinus (Φ).

The argument from textual criticism is, I venture to think, the strongest proof that *C* has been revised from the Greek. But a couple of instances where theories of textual criticism are not involved may be brought forward to strengthen the argument.

Matt v 18

ἰῶτα ἓν ἢ μία κεραία...

For these words we find in *S*

ܚܕ ܚܕܐܝܬ ܕܐ

One Yôd-letter.

This is a complete, though not an absolutely literal translation of

the Greek. ܩܪܢܐ means a letter of the alphabet. That it can be appropriately used for κεραία is proved by the fact that μίαν κεραίαν in Lk xvi 17 is rendered by ܩܪܢ ܩܪܢܐ both in *S* and in the Peshitta[1]. If then ܩܪܢܐ corresponds to κεραία and ܝܘܕ to ἰῶτα, all the essential elements of the Greek are represented in *S*. But in *C* we find

ܩܪܢ ܩܛܝܦ ܐܘ ܩܪܢ ܩܪܢܐ ܝܘܕ

One Yôd-letter or one horn.

Here κεραία is doubly translated, the reviser not having seen that it was already represented by ܩܪܢܐ. Aphraates and Ephraim agree with *S*, so that no doubt the rendering of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* is ultimately due to Tatian, the translator accepting Tatian's paraphrase as an adequate representation of the meaning of the Greek[2]. But the text of *C* is only a piece of later patching.

Joh iv 24

πνεῦμα ὁ θεός, καὶ τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας αὐτὸν ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ δεῖ προσκυνεῖν.

For this *C* has

ܐܠܗܐ ܪܘܚܐ ܗܘ ܘܠܡܣܓܕܝܗܝ ܒܪܘܚܐ ܘܒܫܪܪܐ ܠܡܣܓܕ ܠܗ ܠܡܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܡܣܓܕ ܒܪܘܚܐ ܘܒܫܪܪܐ ܠܗ.

[*For God is a spirit, and they that worship him in spirit and to worship them it behoves*] *them that in spirit and in truth worship him.*

"Quae quidem," as Tischendorf very truly observes, "mire confusa sunt."

S omits the words enclosed in brackets[3]. It should also be noticed that ܐܠܗܐ in *C*, though by the original hand, is written over a word that has been washed out, a circumstance of transcription that may be held to indicate that the scribe had some difficulty in reproducing correctly the text of his exemplar.

It is very difficult to invent a satisfactory theory which will account

[1] *C* is missing in Lk xvi 17.

[2] The Peshitta of Matt v 18 has ܝܘܕ ܚܕ ܐܘ ܩܪܢ ܚܕ *One Yôd or one line*, rejecting ܩܪܢܐ altogether.

[3] *S* also reads ܠܗ ܠܡ instead of ܠܡ ܠܗ.

for all the features of *S* and *C* in the above passage, but the general impression I have formed is that *S* represents the original rendering of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, a rendering based on a defective Greek text; *C*, on the other hand, is a doublet, and the unnatural order of the words placed above between brackets is due to the reviser, who translated the verse afresh on the margin of his Syriac MS. But in the process of transcription 'in truth' has fallen out between 'in spirit and' and 'to worship.'

The remarkable omissions in *S* do not stand alone. There is little doubt that the ordinary text of Joh iv 23, 24, is in essentials the true text, but the repetition of τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας αὐτὸν seems to have given great trouble to scribes in early times, and a mutilated form of the verse must once have been widely current. The following variants are actually found

23 αλλα ερχεται ωρα και νυν εστιν, οτε οι αληθινοι προσκυνηται προσκυνησουσιν τω πατρι εν $\overline{\pi\nu\imath}$ και αληθεια· [a]και γαρ ο πατηρ τοιουτους ζητει [b]τους προσκυνουντας αυτον[a] [c] 24 $\overline{\pi\nu\alpha}$ ο $\overline{\theta\varsigma}$ και[b] τους προσκυνουντας αυτον εν $\overline{\pi\nu\imath}$ και αληθεια [d]δει προσκυνειν[d].

[a···a] *om.* 1–118–209 22
[b···b] *om.* G 69 229 131 *ept**
[c] + εν $\overline{\pi\nu\imath}$ 124* *a b rushw*
[d···d] προσκυνειν δει ℵ*D *a* pp[lat] (syr. *C*)
om. προσκυνειν *e*
om. προσκυνειν δει 131 *g*

Of these authorities *g* is the Cod. Sangermanensis, which has occasional remarkable affinities with the Diatessaron. The authorities which add εν $\overline{\pi\nu\imath}$ at the end of *v.* 23 imply a text that omitted the first part of *v.* 24, like G 69 and 131.

It would be a grave omission if I failed to quote here the remarkable judgement passed on *C* by Dr Hort a dozen years before the Sinai Palimpsest was brought to light. He said (*Introduction*, § 118): "The character of the fundamental text confirms the great antiquity of the version in its original form; while many readings suggest that, like the Latin version, it degenerated by transcription and perhaps also by irregular revision." It is not often that pronouncements of this kind are so signally sustained by later discoveries.

S C and the Diatessaron.

The irregular revision to which an ancestor of *C* has been subjected has had the effect of making *C* itself more commonplace. Unfortunately it is impossible to detach the work of the reviser from the rest of the text of *C* by applying any stylistic test. For the most part the additions and alterations are themselves small in bulk and the general usage of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* is well maintained in the choice of words. In some of the longer insertions, such as that at the end of Matt xx 28, it seems probable that the wording is to a great extent taken from Tatian's Harmony. The reviser's justification for inserting the passage in the ancestor of *C* at that particular place may have been that it was so inserted in a Greek MS used for purposes of revision; but the general cadence of the words was already familiar to him from the Diatessaron, so that he naturally adopted the style of the Syriac Bible. To such an extent is this the case, that at the end he finishes off the interpolation with 'and thou shalt have more glory in the eyes of the guests'—the very words of Lk xiv 10, though the Greek on the authority of which the passage was inserted doubtless read *καὶ ἔσται σοι τοῦτο χρήσιμον*, as in Codex Bezae.

The use of the Diatessaron does not appear in the fragment of [Mk] xvi 9–20 which is preserved in *C*; in fact, the Peshitta text of these verses is much more closely than that of *C* allied to the Diatessaron[1]. This fact in itself supplies a proof that *C* has been to some extent revised from a Greek MS later than the original translation. Nevertheless it is exceedingly probable that in the great majority of cases where *S* and *C* differ, the cause of variation is not that one or other MS has been altered from the original reading of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* in order to make it agree with some Greek MS of the Four Gospels, but in order to make it agree with the Syriac Diatessaron. In such cases of variation between *S* and *C*, the reading that does *not* agree with the Diatessaron is the original reading of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. In other words, the reading that does not agree with the Diatessaron is that which represents the Greek text current at Antioch about 200 AD.

[1] See the Note on the passage.

It will be useful to give some instances in illustration. In Lk xi 2–4 *S* has the short form of the Lord's Prayer, beginning with ܐܒܐ instead of ܐܒܐ ... ܕܒܫܡܝܐ, and ending without 'Deliver us from the Evil One': it differs in language from the Peshitta, notably in the rendering of ἐπιούσιον. *C*, on the other hand, has these two clauses and has ܠܥܠܡ instead of ܠܥܠܡ ܕܥܠܡܝܢ, as in S. Matthew. Here I suppose every one would acknowledge that *S* preserves the original form of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* and that *C* gives us a text partially assimilated to the Diatessaron.

Again, *S* preserves a very peculiar recasting of Lk xi 35, 36, which is otherwise only known from the inferior Old Latin MSS *f q*, but *C* assimilates the text to Matt vi 23, as do also Codex Bezae and the leading MSS of the Old Latin.

But besides this class of variation, in which the singularity of *S* affords us an unmistakeable indication that it has preserved the true text of the 'Old Syriac,' there is another important class in which assimilation to the Diatessaron has produced the opposite result. The Diatessaron, as has been pointed out in the previous Chapter, pp. 191 *ff.*, was based on a 'Western' text, Western in the geographical as well as in the textual sense; moreover, a translation of a Gospel Harmony offers more scope for variation of every kind than a translation of the Four Gospels. Speaking generally, therefore, the text of the Syriac Diatessaron differs more widely than that of the genuine text of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* from the renderings found in the Peshitta, notwithstanding the fact that here and there the Peshitta (like other late texts) has adopted Western readings found in the Diatessaron but absent from the Greek text that underlies the 'Old Syriac.' There are many places throughout the Gospels where the 'Old Syriac' and the Peshitta agree together against the Diatessaron; in such cases, if *C* has been assimilated to the Diatessaron, we get *S* in agreement with the Syriac Vulgate, while *C* and Tatian agree in a variant, which is perhaps further supported by a quotation in Aphraates or Ephraim. These passages demand special notice, because we may be at first sight tempted to regard them as passages where *S* has been assimilated to the Peshitta, though I believe there is no real justification for this view. For example, in Lk xxiii 43 ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ is rendered ܒܦܪܕܝܣܐ 'in Paradise' by *S* and the Peshitta; but *C*, together with

Aphraates (twice), Ephraim (twice) and also in the Diatessaron Commentary (*Moesinger* 244), have ܒܓܢ ܥܕܢ 'in the Garden of Eden.' Here we have two originally independent translations from the Greek. It is clear that 'Garden of Eden' belongs to the Diatessaron, but there is no reason why we should not assign 'Paradise' to the original form of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. On this hypothesis we must assume that the text of *C* has here been assimilated to the Diatessaron.

In Lk xix 44 the same explanation also holds good. In this verse 'the time of thy *visitation*' (τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς σου) is properly rendered ܕܡܨܥܬܟ by *S* and the Peshitta[1]. But *C* and Aphraates have ܕܪܘܡܗ, i.e. 'of thy greatness.' A translation so singular as this is certainly very old, and the circumstance that it is attested by Aphraates makes it highly probable that it really belongs to the Diatessaron. But there is no necessity to suppose that it really belongs also to the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* in its original form, and the agreement between *C* and Aphraates is completely accounted for when we regard *C* as having been assimilated here also to the Diatessaron[2].

Another good instance of a picturesque expression in *C* that has probably been introduced from the Diatessaron is to be found in Lk viii 31; in fact, these readings (though perhaps more frequent in S. Luke than in the other Gospels) may be picked out from almost every chapter. In not a few cases *S* has been assimilated to the Diatessaron, while *C* has preserved the true text of the Old Syriac intact: an example from Joh iv 25 was quoted above, p. 214. There may, of course, be cases in which both *S* and *C* have been independently assimilated to the Diatessaron, and such cases would be very difficult to detect, but the great differences between *S* and *C*, coupled with their frequent agreement against the Diatessaron, make it improbable that they have suffered the same corruptions to any great extent. Where *S* and *C* agree we may be confident that we have the original text of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, the earliest translation of the Four separate Gospels into Syriac; where *S* and *C* agree together with

[1] Spelt in *S* ܕܡܨܥܬܟ.

[2] For an attempt to explain the use of ܪܘܡܗ in this phrase, see the Note on Lk xix 44.

the Diatessaron, we must believe that the translator of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* was content to adopt the rendering of the Diatessaron into his Syriac text of the Four Gospels[1].

The textual affinities of the Old Syriac version.

We have now to attempt to discover the textual affinities of the Old Syriac; that is, to find out which of our Greek MSS agree with the Greek MS from which the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* was translated. The problem before us is a little different from that which confronts the investigator who is studying such a late document as one of the 'Ferrar-Group,' or even the common origin of the 'Ferrar-Group,'—to name but one problem out of many. When we study a comparatively late document, we may feel sure it contains many late features, and our aim is to isolate its ancient 'Western' or 'Alexandrian' elements. But the Greek MS that underlies the Old Syriac would be, if it were in our hands, a primary authority. If it were possible to retranslate the Old Syriac into the Greek that it really represents we should be able to estimate the amount of divergence it presents from the great Uncials or the texts constructed by modern critical editors. Retranslation, however, is a very dangerous proceeding. It sometimes happens that a Greek variation cannot be represented in a foreign language, and on the other hand the Syriac idiom sometimes introduces variety where no Greek variant ever existed. Or again, there are cases where the Syriac might represent either of two rival readings in the Greek. Under these circumstances grave doubt must always hang over conjectural restorations of the Greek text represented by the Old Syriac, except where the Old Syriac is in literal agreement with some MS or group of MSS with which it habitually keeps company. To give the most obvious illustration, in Matt i 16 the evidence of the Ferrar Group and the Old Latin makes it certain that the text of the Old Syriac represents the clause ᾧ̓ μνηστευθεῖσα [ἦν] παρθένος Μαριάμ (or ᾧ̓ ἐμνηστεύθη), and that it

[1] An exception may perhaps be made in the case of the story of the Last Supper according to S. Luke. It is possible that there both *S* and *C* represent independent mixtures of the true text of S. Luke with the narrative of the Diatessaron.

is not a mere paraphrase of the τὸν ἄνδρα Μαρίας of the ordinary text; on the other hand, in the absence of subsidiary attestation, we cannot be quite sure that the doubled 'Joseph' stood in the Greek text from which the Old Syriac was translated, still less that it read τὸν Ἰωσήφ· Ἰωσὴφ δέ, ᾧ κ.τ.λ.

The following lists of various readings have been drawn up to help in finding out which documents contain an early-Antiochian element, i.e. a text akin to the Old Syriac. It has simply been compiled from Tischendorf and other obvious sources, but I have not inserted readings where the apparent agreement between *S* or *C* and some other text might reasonably be regarded as the result of accident. No attempt has been made to evaluate the differences between *S* (or *C*) and such MSS as 565 or the Latins: the aim of the list is to establish points of contact, not to estimate the amount of early-Antiochian matter in the various late and mixed texts The agreement of *S* or *C* with the Peshitta, the Armenian, the Ethiopic, or the later Syriac texts, is to be regarded merely as evidence of the influence of the 'Old Syriac' on these Oriental versions. But it is not yet proved that the 'Old Syriac' ever had any reflex action upon Greek MSS. The agreement of *S* or *C*, therefore, with 28 or 565 or with the 'Ferrar Group' may still be generally considered as indicating that the Greek MS in question has preserved an ancient reading which existed in the MS from which the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* was translated.

The Notation is that of Gregory's *Prolegomena* to Tischendorf. In all cases where only *S* or only *C* is quoted on either side of a variant, it may be presumed that the MS which is passed over is not extant at that point.

Class I.

S C and the Antiochian text.

The text called 'Syrian' and 'Antiochian' by Westcott and Hort, of which the so-called Received Text is a very fair representative, has but little affinity with the Old Syriac Version. This is best shewn by the absence from *S* and *C* of the characteristic conflate readings, but the fundamental separation between the Old Syriac

and the 'Syrian' Greek text is evident on every page of the Gospels. There must have been a great break of continuity between the earlier and the later Greek texts current at Antioch, a breach which may have begun with the deposition of Paul of Samosata in 274 AD. The Old Syriac often represents a different exegetical tradition from that of the later Antiochenes: for example, in the punctuation of Joh v 27, 28, *C* agrees with Paul of Samosata and the ancient tradition generally, while Chrysostom joins ὅτι υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐστίν (*v.* 27) with μὴ θαυμάζετε τοῦτο (*v.* 28), and in this he is followed by the Peshitta and even by the Armenian vulgate.

In a few cases, some of them of considerable importance, the Old Syriac does agree with the later Greek MSS against the early Western and Alexandrian evidence. Thus in Lk ii 14 *S* reads εὐδοκία, not εὐδοκίας (as in ℵB and D latt); and in Lk xiv 15 *S C*, in company with the great mass of later Greek MSS, give ἄριστον instead of ἄρτον[1]. Readings such as these have no greater and no less claim on our attention than singular or subsingular readings of the Old Syriac: the extra attestation given to them by the late Greek MSS only tells us that in these particular cases the leading eclectic text of the end of the 4th century adopted a reading current in the East in preference to that favoured by the Western texts or the Origenian tradition.

In nearly all these cases of combination between the Old Syriac and the later Greek texts the reading so attested is clearly wrong. It is pretty certain, for instance, that S. Luke wrote "Blessed is he that shall eat *bread* in the kingdom of God," and not "*breakfast*." Almost the only instance where a good case can be made out for accepting the Oriental against the combined Western and Alexandrian tradition is the reading ἀναβοήσας, instead of ἀναβάς, in Mk xv 8. And here the Western texts are not quite unanimous, for the word is passed over altogether in *k*.

[1] Note that Clem[166] reads ἄρτον not ἄριστον (Barnard's *Biblical Text of Clement*, p. 48).

Class II.

S C and the ℵB*-text.*

The Old Syriac has some striking agreements with the two great 4th century Bibles ℵ and B, the texts of which form the basis of Westcott and Hort's edition. A glance at the Table printed above, p. 216, shews that *S* omits all, and *C* more than half, of the 'Greater Interpolations,' which have been recognised as such and consequently removed from the text by critical editors on the authority of ℵ and B. Nor is this coincidence between *S C* and ℵB confined to the rejection of a few extensive and easily recognisable passages. All through the Gospels *S*, and to a certain extent *C* also, agrees with ℵB in omitting words and clauses found in most extant documents. Sometimes these authorities stand almost alone in their omissions, sometimes they are supported by a number of other texts.

The question therefore arises whether there may not be some special connexion between ℵB and *S*, which would deprive their agreement of special significance. Put in a more concrete form, is there any reason for supposing that the Sinai Palimpsest omits the 'Western Interpolations,' because they had been excised from its ancestor in order to make it agree with the recension of Origen and Eusebius? The answer to this must be, I am sure, in the negative, quite independently of any theory of the genesis of the ℵB-text. Besides the difficulty of explaining the omissions attested by *C* if the text of *S* had been produced by excision, this hypothesis does not account for the clauses which actually form part of the text of *S* though they are absent from ℵ and B. Instances may be found in Matt iv 10, v 22, x 23, xx 16, xxv 1, Mk x 24, xiii 8, Lk xx 34, xxiii 48, Joh iii 6, xi 39, xii 12, xx 16, and elsewhere. It is immaterial here to discuss whether these words and phrases are genuine or not: they are absent from the ℵB-text, and a hand that would have cut out from *S* the so-called 'last twelve verses' of S. Mark on the authority of the 'Eusebian tradition' —to use the well-known question-begging phrases—would not have been likely to leave all these passages standing.

Apart from the omitted passages there is not a very close affinity

between the Old Syriac and ℵB. What we may call the Origenian text does not get much support from *S* or *C*. Neither ἠπόρει in Mk vi 20, nor τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλείποντος in Lk xxiii 45, nor μονογενὴς θεός in Joh i 18, is attested by the Old Syriac. It is of course natural that two such ancient lines of transmission as the text underlying ℵB and the text underlying the Old Syriac should often coincide; but the only kind of agreement between documents that shews community of origin is community in error, and of this there is to the best of my belief very little. The faults of *S* are not the faults of ℵB, and the reader need only go over any list of alleged *monstra* drawn up by opponents of the ℵB-text to see how few of them are shared by *S* or *C*. Other instances of characteristic readings of B or ℵB not supported by *S* are to be found in Matt vi 8, xi 19, xxvii 49; Mk iii 14, 16, vi 22, xiii 33; Lk ii 14, x 41, 42, xiv 5, xv 21, xvi 12, xxi 24; Joh ix 4, x 22.

But if the lines of transmission now represented by ℵB on the one hand and *S C* on the other be practically independent, their occasional agreement becomes of the greatest weight. Thus in Lk iv 44 the agreement of *S* with ℵB and others (including the group 1&c.) makes it certain that S. Luke wrote 'Judaea' and not 'Galilee[1].' And I venture to think that the force of the agreement of these two groups is very little weakened if either ℵ or B deserts its companions to join the mass of ordinary codices. Thus *S* supports B all through the complicated series of variations in S. Mark about the double cock-crowing, which was chosen by Dr Hort (*Introd.* § 323) to illustrate the unique character of the Vatican MS. In Lk viii 43 and xi 11 B and *S* join in omitting words which are undoubtedly interpolations though found in most MSS: in the former passage ἰατροῖς προσαναλώσασα ὅλον τὸν βίον is a mere adaptation of Mk v 26 and in the latter the words about the Bread and the Stone belong to Matt vii 9 only. It may be remarked in passing that both in Lk viii 43 and in xi 11 *C* follows the harmonistic reading of the mass of later documents, perhaps under the influence of the Diatessaron, while B is supported by the Sahidic and *S* by the Armenian. Other notable places where B and the Old Syriac go together are the 'many stadia' of Matt xiv 24 and the 'Seventy-two' disciples of Lk x 1.

The passages where the Old Syriac sides with ℵ against B are

[1] See the *Note* on Lk iv 44.

fewer in number. Instances are μηδένα (for μηδέν) in Lk vi 35, and 'the *Chosen* of God' (instead of 'the *Son* of God') in Joh i 34. In Joh viii 57 *S* reads with ℵ and the Sahidic ἑώρακέ(ν) σε, where most documents, including the Diatessaron, read ἑώρακας. Here B* halts between the two variants and reads εορακεc.

The Western 'Non-Interpolations.'

A few words must here be said about the passages called by Westcott and Hort 'Western Non-Interpolations.' These are certain passages contained in B and for the most part in ℵ, but passed over by D and the Old Latin: the passages are regarded by Westcott and Hort as no part of the original text and accordingly are placed by them between double brackets (⟦ ⟧). A few other passages somewhat similarly attested are placed by Westcott and Hort between ordinary square brackets.

The consideration of these passages is necessary, because our estimate of the value of the Old Syriac as an independent witness for textual purposes depends largely upon the view we take of them. If these passages be really interpolations wrongly inserted into the text of the Gospels, then all the documents that contain them have at least in part a common origin—they have, in fact, been at least influenced by a common interpolated recension. We have therefore to ascertain to what extent these passages are attested by the Old Syriac, and to examine how far Westcott and Hort are right in treating them practically as a single series by giving them a common name.

The following List of the 'Western Non-Interpolations' has been compiled from Hort's *Introduction* §§ 240 and 383.

The Table below tells us at the first glance that the Old Syriac is divided upon the question of the Western Non-Interpolations, and this alone is enough to shew that the 27 readings here cited are not homogeneous. They cannot be all the result of one critical process, whether we decide in favour of retention or omission. There are, it must be remembered, two questions of textual criticism before us, which should be kept distinct. The question with which we are more immediately concerned is the relation of *S* and *C* to the ℵB-text; this

question is indeed intimately connected with the question of the origin and propagation of the 'Western Non-Interpolations,' but it is not identical with it. Even if we accept the view that certain passages (such as Luke xxiv 12) are interpolations, it may be that they were

Authorities quoted.....	B	ℵ	ς	Syr.vt *C*	Syr.vt *S*	*Omitted by* D lat.vt *except as stated below*
1. Matt vi 15 [τὰ παραπτώματα αὐτῶν]	B	*om.*	ς	*C*	—	*b*
2. Matt vi 25 [ἢ τί πίητε]	B	*om.*	ς	*om.*	—	
3. Matt ix 34 [οἱ δὲ Φαρισαῖοι...δαιμόνια.]	B	ℵ	ς	—	*om.*	*b*
4. Matt xiii 33 [ἐλάλησεν αὐτοῖς]	B	ℵ	ς	*om.*	*om.*	(*e*, *a*) *b*
5. Matt xxi 44 [καὶ ὁ πεσὼν...λικμήσει αὐτόν.]	B	ℵ	ς	*C*	*om.*	
6. Matt xxiii 26 [καὶ τῆς παροψίδος]	(B)	ℵ	ς	—	*om.*	
7. Matt xxvii 49 *fin.* [[+ ἄλλος δὲ...αἷμα.]]	B	ℵ	*om.*	—	*om.*	
8. Mark ii 22 [ἀλλὰ οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς καινούς]	B	ℵ	ς	—	*S*	*e*
9. Mark x 2 [προσελθόντες Φαρισαῖοι]	B	ℵ	ς	—	*om.*	
10. Mark xiv 39 [τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον εἰπών]	B	ℵ	ς	—	*S*	
11. Luke v 39 [Οὐδεὶς.....χρηστός ἐστιν.]	B	ℵ	ς	—	—	
12. Luke x 41 *f* [μεριμνᾷς.....ἢ ἑνός·]	B	ℵ	(ς)	(*C*)	*om.*	(D)
13. Luke xii 19 [κείμενα.....φάγε, πίε]	B	ℵ	ς	*C*	*S*	
14. Luke xii 21 [Οὕτως.....εἰς θεὸν πλουτῶν.]	B	ℵ	ς	*C*	*S*	*e*
15. Luke xii 39 [ἐγρηγόρησεν ἂν καὶ]	B	*om.*	ς	*om.*	*om.*	
16. Luke xxii 19^{b}, 20 [[τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν...ἐκχυννόμενον.]]	B	ℵ	ς	(*C*)	(*S*)	(*e*, *b*)
17. Luke xxii 62 [καὶ.....ἔκλαυσεν πικρῶς.]	B	ℵ	ς	*C*	*S*	D
18. Luke xxiv 3 [[τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ]]	B	ℵ	ς	(*C*)	(*S*)	
19. Luke xxiv 6 [[οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε, ἀλλὰ ἠγέρθη.]]	B	ℵ	ς	*C*	*S*	
20. Luke xxiv 9 [ἀπὸ τοῦ μνημείου]	B	ℵ	ς	*C*	*S*	
21. Luke xxiv 12 [[Ὁ δὲ Πέτρος.....τὸ γεγονός.]]	B	ℵ	ς	*C*	*S*	
22. Luke xxiv 36 [[καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς Εἰρήνη ὑμῖν.]]	B	ℵ	ς	*C*	*S*	
23. Luke xxiv 40 [[καὶ τοῦτο εἰπὼν.....πόδας.]]	B	ℵ	ς	*om.*	*om.*	
24. Luke xxiv 52 [[καὶ ἀνεφέρετο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν]]	B	*om.*	ς	—	(*om.*)	
25. Luke xxiv 53 [[προσκυνήσαντες αὐτὸν]]	B	ℵ	ς	—	*om.*	
26. Joh iii 31, 32 [ἐπάνω πάντων ἐστίν & τοῦτο]	B	*om.*	ς	*om.*	(*S*)	
27. Joh iv 9 [οὐ γὰρ.....Σαμαρείταις.]	B	*om.*	ς	*C*	(*S*)	

inserted so generally and at so early a period in the texts current East of the Adriatic that their presence in *S* and *C* as well as in ℵB proves little as to any special connexion between the Caesarean Library and the Old Syriac Version. It should therefore be pointed out at once that in Nos. 7 and 12, the two cases where ℵ and B are not backed up

by the mass of later Greek texts, no support is given to the reading of ℵB by the Old Syriac. In Lk x 41 *f* (the answer of Jesus to Martha) *S* agrees with the Latins in omitting the disputed words, while *C* has been revised to agree with the *Textus Receptus*, and not with ℵB. In Matt xxvii 49 the Syriac joins with the Latin and the *Textus Receptus* in rejecting the notorious interpolation from Joh xix 34 found in ℵB and a few other authorities. This interpolation is a true peculiarity of the ℵB-text, and documents which contain it have either been emended from the ℵB-text or contain an emended form of the ℵB-text. Its absence from *S* goes some way to clear that MS from any suspicion that it has been revised, at least to any considerable extent, by means of MSS akin to ℵB[1].

The divergence between the Old Syriac and the ℵB-text is by no means confined to these two passages. In about half of the whole twenty-seven 'Interpolations' the Old Syriac is on the side of omission, sometimes, as in the case of Luke xxiv 40 (No. 23), against the whole mass of extant Greek MSS except Codex Bezae. In other cases, such as Luke xxiv 3, 52 (Nos. 18 and 24), the Old Syriac has an interpolated text, but the interpolation or alteration differs from the ℵB-text: here, therefore, the Old Syriac manifests its independence of the ℵB-text as much as in the passages where it supports simple omission of the disputed words. Among these we must reckon No. 16 (the account of the Last Supper in S. Luke): at this point both *S* and *C* have been harmonised to agree with the other Gospels, perhaps under the influence of the Diatessaron, but certainly not by way of assimilation to what is found in ℵ and B and the 'Received Text.'

It must not be forgotten also that it remains an open question whether all the twenty-seven readings are really interpolations. Interpolation is not the only fault of Western texts, and there is little doubt that Western editors sometimes omitted what they did not like or understand. Thus in Lk xii 19 (No. 13) I have very little doubt that the words retained by ℵB and the Old Syriac are genuine, and

[1] Another characteristic interpolation, which is absent from *S* and *C* as well as the Old Latin, is to be found in Lk xv 21, where 'Make me one of thy hired servants' is added from *v.* 19 by D as well as by ℵB. The addition of 'And no man gave to him' in Lk xvi 21, an interpolation similar in character, is found in Aphraates, the 'Ferrar Group' and some late Latin texts, but not in *S* or ℵB. *C* is missing here and in Matt xxvii 49.

that the cause of the omission was failure to understand how a 'soul' (*anima*) could 'eat' or 'drink.' I venture to think that the Old Syriac is quite right in retaining the disputed words in Lk xii 19, 21 (Nos. 13 and 14), and also in Mark xiv 39 (No. 10). In the latter passage τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον εἰπών introduces a petty verbal discrepancy with Matt xxvi 42, and by retaining these words in Mk *S* shews at this point notable independence of the influence of the Diatessaron[1]. Somewhat similar is Mk ii 22 (No. 8), where the short form of the saying without a verb, found in ℵB, is probably genuine. Here *S* has been assimilated to Matt ix 17, as is natural and proper in a translation[2]. To these passages I would provisionally add Lk v 39 (No. 11). Neither *S* nor *C* is here extant, but it is quite as likely that the verse was omitted because of its difficulty and its absence from the parallel passages, as that it is the interpolation of a later hand.

Nevertheless, when all allowances have been made, there still remain some passages at the end of S. Luke where *S* and *C* join with ℵB in supporting additions to the text, which cannot be regarded as genuine. It is very difficult to suppose that Lk xxiv 12 (the visit of Peter to the empty grave) is a genuine portion of the Third Gospel. Accidental omission of the verse is highly improbable, and it is impossible to conceive why it should have been intentionally cut out. On the other hand, *v.* 24 might seem to call for some explanation, and the narrative in Joh xx 3—10 supplied materials for the insertion. The wording of *S* and *C* in the verse differs from the Peshitta, so that their text cannot have been derived from that source, nor can it have come direct from the Diatessaron, for in a Harmony the verse is naturally swallowed up into the fuller narrative from S. John. The verse therefore, as we read it in *S* and *C*, must come directly from the Greek. At the same time the wording differs in one important point from that of the general usage of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, for Πέτρος is here rendered *Simon* and not *Kepha* as in the rest of S. Luke (see Chap. II, p. 96). This marked difference of usage makes it conceivable that we are here dealing with an interpolation in the Old Syriac which has invaded *S* as well as *C*.

The result is of the greatest importance for our estimate of *S*.

[1] *Cf* Diat[ar] xlviii 13.

[2] The English Revised Version has done the same.

What has happened in one place may have happened in several. It has probably happened in Lk xxiv 6 also, and the hypothesis of interpolation is the simplest explanation of the text of *S* in Lk xxii 62 and xxiv 36. But there is nothing to lead us to believe that this element in *S* is of any great extent. Probably it is confined to a few well-marked readings which became familiar to Syriac scribes through revised texts such as that of *C*, and so ultimately invaded even purer types of text like *S*.

That some of these widely spread interpolations were foisted into the text of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* is evident from Matt xxi 44 (No. 5), which is read by *C*, but omitted by *S*, and from Lk x 41*f* (No. 12), where as has been already remarked *C* has the longer reading in the form in which it appears in the majority of Greek MSS, and not in the form characteristic of ℵB. The general results, therefore, of a consideration of the readings called by Westcott and Hort 'Western Non-Interpolations' are: (1) that the Old Syriac, like the Old Latin, was free from these extraneous additions to the text; (2) that in a few cases the Syriac evidence helps us to revise the list furnished by Westcott and Hort by establishing the genuineness of some readings omitted on Western evidence only; (3) that some of the 'Western Non-Interpolations' which were originally passed over by the Old Syriac are now found in *C*, and in a few cases even in *S*; (4) that these insertions in our Old Syriac MSS appear to have been ultimately based on Greek MSS nearer akin to the *Textus Receptus* than to the type represented by ℵ and B.

In the above discussion no notice has been taken of the two readings from S. John. In Joh iii 31, 32, *C* supports the shorter text, while *S* is said to contain part of the longer reading. The photograph is nearly illegible at the decisive point and I am of opinion that the text of *S* has not been correctly represented in this edition[1]. The case of Joh iv 9 will be dealt with below among the independent readings of the Old Syriac version.

[1] See vol. i, p. 434.

Later elements in ℵ *and* B.

Before leaving the ℵB-text it may be well to ask how far it is homogeneous. The question is not out of place even in a discussion upon the value of a Syriac Version. No one can compare the text of *S* with that of Westcott and Hort without noticing that *S* is much more strongly 'Western' in S. Matthew than in S. Luke. The critic's first impulse, in the case of a new document like *S*, is to suspect that the two Gospels were translated into Syriac by different hands, perhaps at different times, or that S. Luke has suffered revision while S. Matthew has escaped. But it is only fair to ask whether the standard of comparison itself be homogeneous. The text of Westcott and Hort is practically the text of ℵB. The Old Syriac sometimes supports the true text of the ℵB family, where ℵ singly or B singly deserts the family to side with a later variation: is it not therefore possible, and indeed likely, that in some instances ℵ and B may both have deserted the reading which they ought to have followed, and that they and not *S* are inconsistent?

That ℵ and B occasionally are inconsistent with themselves appears certain in several places. Carefully as B is written, now and again it presents an ungrammatical reading, which proves on examination to be a fragment of the rival variant. Thus in Matt xxiii 26 most Greek documents read καθάρισον πρῶτον τὸ ἐντὸς τοῦ ποτηρίου καὶ τῆς παροψίδος, ἵνα γένηται καὶ τὸ ἐκτὸς αὐτῶν καθαρόν. Here καὶ τῆς παροψίδος is omitted by D 1&c 700 *a e*, as well as by syr.vt, all these authorities reading αὐτοῦ instead of αὐτῶν. But in B*, together with E* 13&c 28 157 al[20] Bas ½, we find καὶ τῆς παροψίδος supplied, while αὐτοῦ is left standing. It is not necessary to suppose that all the MSS that support B* here represent a common tradition: it was easy to supply 'the platter' from the preceding verse. But the presence of αὐτοῦ in B*, coupled with the occurrence of the shorter reading in the Old Syriac, leads me to claim it as really characteristic of the ℵB-text as well as the various 'Western' texts. The presence of αὐτοῦ in B is exactly analogous to the use of *Simon* by *S* and *C* in Lk xxiv 12: the irregular reading shews us in each case that our MS is not giving us the true text of the family to which it belongs.

Other instances from B of the same kind are the employment of ὕστερος (instead of ἔσχατος) in Matt xxi 31, the presence of the article before Βαραββᾶν in Matt xxvii 17[1], and the reading πάντων instead of πασῶν in Lk xix 37. In all these instances B presents us with what is evidently a doctored text. We are able in a few cases to detect the patch by an imperfection in the joining, where the words added or taken away involve by their presence or absence a consequential change in the text. But in many cases of the insertion of words no further change is caused in the body of the text, and we have no means of knowing how often B has suffered in this way. An obvious instance in point, the insertion of οὐδὲ ὑπὸ τὸν μόδιον in Lk xi 33, is noticed below.

Class III.

S C and Western texts.

By 'Western texts' I mean here the texts which are properly called Western as belonging geographically to the West of the Adriatic —in other words Codex Bezae (D), the texts of the Old Latin version and the Latin Fathers. The frequent agreement between the Old Syriac and these Western texts had been a subject of comment ever since Cureton's publication of *C*, but it was not until the investigations of Zahn and Bäthgen upon Tatian's Diatessaron that any steps were made towards a rational explanation. A careful and independent examination of the textual phenomena has brought me round to the view first enunciated in 1885 by Bäthgen in his *Evangelienfragmente* and supported since 1895 by Zahn[2], *viz.* that the Diatessaron was the earliest form of the Gospel in Syriac, earlier therefore than the Old Syriac, and that the translator of the Old Syriac, which on this view dates from about 200 AD, knew the Diatessaron and adapted its language to a very considerable extent[3]. The Diatessaron itself was made in Rome, or at least was the work of one who had lived there many years; it is not surprising therefore to find that the text of the Diatessaron is predominantly Western. And when it is acknowledged that much of the text of the Old Syriac is direct adaptation of the

[1] See the Note on the passage.

[2] *Theol. Litteraturblatt* 1895, ii 17—21.

[3] See above, pp. 208 *ff.*

Diatessaron an easy explanation of the origin of the Western element at once offers itself: the Western readings do not necessarily represent the text of the Four Gospels as read in Antioch about 170, but the text of the Diatessaron; and the text of the Diatessaron in turn represents the Four Gospels as read in Rome about 170 AD. In such passages, and they are very many, we cannot take the agreement of East and West as instantly decisive. It is almost safer to regard the Eastern text in these passages as non-existent, and to treat the Old Syriac evidence as one element in a group belonging to the West. The Western reading may be purer than the Alexandrian reading in any given case, but where *S* and *C* give us the Diatessaron text the independent consensus of East and West disappears; what is left is group against group, not two very early groups against one.

It is a pity that we know so little of the continuous text of the Diatessaron. At every turn we find ourselves confronted with reasonable suspicion that the special features of an Old Syriac reading may be due to the influence of the Diatessaron, while at the same time we are without direct information as to the reading of the Diatessaron in the passage in question. In giving examples of the definitely Western element in the Old Syriac I have therefore divided the lists into three classes: in the first class are given some striking agreements of the Old Syriac with Western texts against the Diatessaron, in the second class agreements of the Old Syriac with Western texts including the Diatessaron, and in the third a selection of passages where the reading of the Diatessaron is not definitely known.

Agreements of S or C with Western texts against the Diatessaron.

Matt i 18 τοῦ δὲ χριστοῦ] *S C*=*d* (*hiat* D) latt.omn

τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ *Moes.* 20 = Gr.rel (incl. the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus), but B has τοῦ δὲ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ.

The phrase used in Moesinger does not agree with the Armenian Vulgate. It is possible that the text of the Diatessaron was assimilated by Tatian to Matt i 1: the personal name 'Jesus' is almost necessary when the narrative of Matt i 18 ff. is placed immediately following the first chapter of S. Luke instead of after a genealogy such as Matt i 2–17. At the same time it is quite

possible that the text of *S* and *C* was here not derived from the West at all, for the reading of B suggests that a text agreeing with the Latins was current in early times in the East also.

Matt iii 17 σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱός μου] *S C* = D *a* Iren^{gr} (*hiat k*)
οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου *Moes.* 99 &c = Gr.rel.

For a further discussion of this important variation, see the Note on the passage.

Matt xviii 20 'For there are not two or three gathered together in my name, that I am not in the midst of' *S* = D (*g*) (Clem 541)

The ordinary text is supported by *C* Aphr 69 and all other authorities: it appears to be implied in *Moes.* 165. Whatever be the origin of this curious reading, it does not seem to have come into *S* through the Diatessaron.

Lk xx 34 'The sons of this world beget and are begotten, and take wives and become the wives of men' *S C.* This agrees with *a* Iren 168 and Clem 551 (103, 230). D and some Latin MSS have 'are begotten and beget,' the best Latin (incl. Cyp $^2/_2$ and *c e*) omitting 'marry and are given in marriage.' Most documents omit 'beget and are begotten.'

It is not easy to ascertain the exact text of the Diatessaron at this point, but it appears that it did not contain the clause *beget and are begotten.* According to *Moes.* 194 the reply of our Lord begins "Much do ye err, for the sons of the times of this world take wives, etc." According to Aphraates 167, a quotation which seems to represent a text of the Diatessaron, the reply begins "Much do ye err, and ye know not the Scriptures nor the power of God. For they that are worthy of that world...," i.e. Matt xxii 29 followed by Lk xx 35, omitting *v.* 34 altogether. Thus neither text has *beget and are begotten,* so that the presence of this so-called 'Western' reading in *S* and *C* cannot be due to the influence of Tatian's Harmony.

Joh x 8 'all that came'] *S* (*followed by* syr.vg) = ℵ* al^{100} lat.vt-vg
+'before me' *Moes.* 200 = BDAℵ^c al^{70} *fos gat* Lucif^{194} Faust$^{ap.\ Aug}$ Hieron $^4/_4$

I quote this passage mainly for the remarkable distribution of reading. Is it conceivable that the gloss is really due to Tatian himself? See above, p. 195.

Joh xi 25 'I am the Resurrection'] $S = a^*$ (?) l^* Cyp 310
+ 'and the Life' *Moes.* 202 = Gr.rel Lat.rel

In this striking variant S agrees with Cyprian against the Diatessaron and practically all other texts.

Besides these passages, where the Diatessaron is definitely ranged on the opposite side to S, there are some others where the Diatessaron from its very nature cannot have served as the channel of connexion between S and the Western text.

Matt viii 5 (*before* προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ ἑκατοντάρχης)

(α) μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα $S = k$

(β) εἰσελθόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ εἰς Καφαρναούμ ℵBC &c lat.vg syr.vg

(γ) μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰσελθ. αὐ. εἰς Καφ. C = lat.eur (*hiat* D)

The words 'when he entered into Capernaum' would naturally have a place in the Diatessaron, because they stand in all authorities as part of Lk vii 1. Thus the omission of these words in S and k cannot be due to the Diatessaron, though it may be the source from which the words were inserted in C. I have a strong suspicion that (α) is the true reading in Matt, while (β) is an early harmonistic variant and (γ) is a conflation of (α) and (β). The fact that μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα is not elsewhere used by the compiler of the First Gospel is not necessarily fatal to this view, as it may possibly have stood in the source from which Matt and Lk drew the story of the Centurion[1].

[1] Besides, there is a special reason for μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα here. It may be, so to speak, the voice of the compiler of Matt expressing his belief that his new arrangement of the story of the Leper is satisfactory. A comparison of Matt vii, viii, with the parallel in Lk vi, vii, leaves little doubt that the story of the Centurion followed in the common source immediately after the great Sermon. The story of the Leper, on the other hand, comes in Mk i 40 *ff*, after the healing of Peter's wife's mother; its new place in Matt viii 2–4 is certainly due to the compiler, not to his source. We should naturally have assigned the mention of Capernaum to the common source of Matt and Lk but for its omission by S and k. It is also omitted by e in Joh iv 46. Possibly therefore the place was not indicated in the source and the connexion of the story with Capernaum may be due to S. Luke's own information or conjecture.

Matt xxi 44 (Whosoever shall fall on this stone, &c)] *om.* S=D 33 *a b e ff* Orig

The verse is read by *C* with ℵB &c.

The Diatessaron (*Moes.* 193) retains the verse, as was almost inevitable in a Harmony, but there is nothing to shew that it is not merely the equivalent of Lk xx 18.

Joh xii 8 (For the poor ye have always with you, but me ye have not always)] *om.* S=D

All other authorities have the verse. It doubtless stood also in the Diatessaron, but as the equivalent to Mk xiv 7 = Matt xxvi 11. Here again it is difficult not to believe that *S* and D have preserved the true reading: the sudden verbal agreement of Joh xii 8 with the Synoptic Gospels occurring in the midst of so much real difference is suspicious, and it is better to regard the verse as an interpolation, so far as the Fourth Gospel is concerned.

Agreements of S or C with Western texts including the Diatessaron.

Matt ix 34 ('But the Pharisees said: By the Prince of the devils,...')

This verse is omitted by *S* with D *a k*, and it is passed over in Diat^{ar} xii 41, 42.

Matt xi 5 καὶ πτωχοὶ εὐαγγελίζονται] *om.* S=*k* and Clem. 151. In *C* the clauses are transposed: 'the deaf hear and the poor are sustained[1] and the dead arise.'

In *Moes.* 100 we read "The Lord began from those things that seem more easy...*The blind see and the lame walk and the lepers are cleansed and the deaf hear*, and in the end as the seal of all he said this: *The dead arise.*" This is followed almost immediately by a quotation of Matt xi 6. It is evident that the Diatessaron agrees here with *S*, and that *C* represents an attempt to replace the missing clause.

Internal evidence is very strongly in favour of the omission of καὶ πτωχοὶ εὐαγγελίζονται. The verb εὐαγγελίζεσθαι is not found in Matt outside this passage; on the other hand, it is one

[1] *C* has ܡܫܒܚܝܢ (*sic*): see the Note on Matt xi 5.

of the favourite words of Luke and actually occurs in Lk xvi 16 with the same passive use as here. Probably therefore its introduction into this context is due to the evangelist: 'the dead arise' in the reply of our Lord to S. John's messengers has no doubt the same significance as 'raise the dead' in Matt x 8. In other words, the true text of the First Gospel, as preserved in *S* and the Diatessaron, supported by *k* and Clement, gives us the words of Jesus; 'the poor have the Gospel preached to them' is S. Luke's *interpretation* of the words, an interpretation which we may safely accept.

The text of the Diatessaron as preserved in *Moes.* 100 is also notable in that it adopts one of two parallel accounts instead of combining them. Similar instances are to be found in Diat iv 44 (*Moes.* 44) where there is no mention of the 40 nights, Lk iv 2 being preferred to Matt iv 2; also in Diat xxix 9 (*Moes.* 88) the *seven-fold* of the Western text of Lk xviii 30 is preferred to the *hundred-fold* of Mk x 30 or the *manifold* of some texts of Matt xix 29 and Lk xviii 30. In the last instance (Lk xviii 30) *S* and *C* have 'an hundred-fold': we must therefore refrain from ascribing all the harmonistic readings in the Old Syriac to Tatian's influence, while at the same time we must not assume that the Diatessaron always combined the variations of the Gospels instead of selecting between them.

Matt xxi 31 ὁ ἔσχατος *S*=D lat.vt, i.e. the Pharisees say that the son who said he would go into the vineyard, and did not go, obeyed his father[1].

The Diatessaron (*Moes.* 191) supports ὁ ἔσχατος, but there is room to believe that Tatian transposed the order of the two sons, as in B 13&c and the Armenian, whereby the sense is the same as that of the ordinary text with ὁ πρῶτος, which is supported also by *C*. If this be really the case the agreement of *S* and the early Western text is independent of the Diatessaron, but in view of

[1] This reading is also implied by Iren 280 *ad fin*, who says: 'alter quidem contradixit patri et postea poenitetur *quando nihil profuit ei poenitentia*, alter autem pollicitus est statim promittens patri non abiit autem, quoniam omnis homo mendax et uelle quidem in promptu adiacet non inuenit autem perficere.'

the doubt I have inserted the passage here and not above on p. 236[1].

Matt xxvi 73 καὶ γὰρ ἡ λαλιά σου ὁμοιάζει *S*=D latt, and also Diat[ar] xlix 12. Most documents, including syr.vg, have δῆλόν σε ποιεῖ for ὁμοιάζει. The words καὶ ἡ λαλιά σου ὁμοιάζει are added at the end of Mk xiv 70 by most late texts, including syr.vg, but they are omitted by *S* with the best Greek and Latin authorities.

Mk viii 31, 32. For ἐλάλει, *S* reads λαλεῖν (or possibly ἐκλαλεῖν) with *k* and Diat[ar] xxiii 42, so that the announcement of the Passion runs *He had begun to teach them that the Son of man was about to suffer much...and they will kill Him and the third day He will rise and openly speak the word.*

As this striking reading had a place in the Diatessaron—for all the readings of the Arabic Diatessaron that do not agree verbally with the Peshitta are doubtless genuine survivals of Tatian's Harmony—we must not claim the agreement of *S* and *k* in its favour as an independent consensus of East and West[2]. At the same time there are very few, if any, traces of the influence of the Diatessaron in the African Latin, so that the reading represents a very early strain of the Western text, and there is much to be said in its favour from internal evidence.

Mk ix 3 (*after* 'and his garments became glistering exceeding white')

(α) 'so as no fuller on earth can whiten them' ℵB 1&c al[p] *d k* arm

(β) 'as snow' *S*=X *a n*

(γ) 'as snow, so as no fuller on earth can whiten them' Gr.rel. Lat.rel

D[gr] and syr.vg practically agree with (γ), but substitute *no one*

[1] It is perhaps worth while pointing out that no MS except B has ὕστερος for ἔσχατος. Ephraim's words (*Moes.* 191) are: 'How,' saith he, 'seemeth this to you? A certain man had two sons.' And that he called them 'sons' was that he might stimulate them to his work. 'Yea,' saith he, 'Lord!' He called him 'Son,' and he called him 'Lord,' instead of calling him 'Father' and accomplishing his word. 'Which of them did the will of his father?' And they decided rightly and say 'The second.'

[2] In the *Journ. of Th. Studies* ii 112 and *Enc. Biblica* 4992 I fear that I emphasised the mere agreement of East and West too strongly in discussing the passage.

for *no fuller*. There can be little doubt that (α) is the true text: the naive simile in Mark provoked alteration from the time of the first and third Evangelists down to the fourth century. The introduction of 'as snow,' which is also inserted in Lk ix 29 by *e* and *C* (not *S*), may possibly have been due to Tatian. According to Diat^{ar} xxiv 4 he wrote "His raiment became [exceeding] white as snow and as the brightness of lightning, so that nothing on earth can become so white." As this does not agree verbally with the Peshitta, it may very well represent the true Diatessaron.

Mk xvi 3, 4. The clause ἦν γὰρ μέγας σφόδρα is placed in most documents, including *k*, at the end of xvi 4, so that it is a remark of the Evangelist. In *S*, with D 565 lat.vt (exc. *k*) Eus and Diat^{ar} lii 47—49, the clause is put at the end of the women's speech, and ἔρχονται καὶ εὑρίσκουσιν ἀποκεκυλισμένον τὸν λίθον is read instead of ἀναβλέψασαι θεωροῦσιν ὅτι ἀνακεκύλισται ὁ λίθος. Thus we get

ℵB *etc.*	Diat^{ar} lii 47—49.
...they were saying one to another, 'Who will roll away for us the stone from the door of the tomb?'	...they were saying one to another, 'Who will roll away for us the stone from the door of the tomb, for it was very great?' [*And* WHILE THEY SPAKE THUS, *there was a great earthquake, and an angel descended from heaven and came and rolled away the stone from the door.*] And they came and found the stone rolled away [FROM THE TOMB, *and the angel sitting on the stone.*]
And looking up they see that the stone is rolled away, for it was very great.	
[*I.e., it was so large that they could see its position at some distance.*]	

The words in italics come from Matt xxviii 1, 2. The words in small capitals appear to be connecting links added by the harmonist.

Were it not for the accessory attestation, we might be tempted to conjecture that the transposition was due to the harmonist himself. But *k*, which does not transpose the clauses, also attests ἔρχονται and

ἀποκεκυλισμένον τὸν λίθον, and the *Gospel of Peter* also puts μέγας γὰρ ἦν ὁ λίθος into the women's speech—in fact, it is put into their mouths before they start for the tomb. The reading of *S* and the Diatessaron was therefore very widely spread in one form or another. Yet it can hardly be original. The text of S. Mark, indeed, at this point invites change. It is easy to miss the meaning of ἦν γὰρ μέγας σφόδρα, though such a remark is exactly in the style of the man who wrote ὁ γὰρ καιρὸς οὐκ ἦν σύκων (Mk xi 13). Still more unsatisfying to the taste of the 2nd century was the absence of a 'sign from heaven' on the Resurrection morning. It is here that *k* brings in a sudden darkness and the descent of angels from heaven. A similar prodigy is related in the *Gospel of Peter*, and we have seen that Tatian joined these verses from Mk with the appearance of the angel in Matt xxviii 1—3. In fact, the wording of Matt xxviii shews a similar treatment of the sober narrative of S. Mark.

May we not conjecture that the interpolation in Mk xvi 3, now found only in *k*, was once far more widely spread? On this view the text represented by D 565 lat.eur and the Diatessaron represents a revised text *from which the apocryphal addition has been cut out.* The transposition of the clauses and the obliteration of ἀναβλέψασαι would then be regarded as scars arising from imperfect surgery.

In any case we may feel safe in saying that *S* is here dependent on the Diatessaron: either the ancestor of *S* had been assimilated to the Diatessaron by transcribers, or more probably the translator of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* was himself here influenced by the familiar wording of Tatian's Harmony.

Agreements of S or C with Western texts, where the reading of the Diatessaron is not known.

Matt v 11 ψευδόμενοι] *om.* *S* = D lat.vt; *C* has the word, with Gr.rel.

Lk x 41, 42. *S*, with lat.vt, has only *Martha, Martha, Mary has chosen for herself the good part that shall not be taken from her.*

Here *C* in *v.* 41 has been corrected to agree with the received text, but no γὰρ is added in *v.* 42. D has θορυβάζῃ added after the second Μάρθα.

Lk xi 35, 36. D and all the best Old Latin MSS simply substitute the parallel passage Matt vi 23^{b} for these somewhat obscure verses. *S* and *C* both have Lk xi 35 ('see lest the light that is in thee be darkened'), but in *C* this is followed by Matt vi 23^{b} (omitting *v.* 36). *S*, on the other hand, has the same curious recasting of the verse which is attested by *f* and *q*, Latin MSS that usually present quite commonplace readings. This grouping is most peculiar; in fact, it can hardly be accounted for, except on the supposition that *f* and *q* here preserve the true Old Latin rendering and that D *a b e ff i r* have been assimilated by later transcribers to the more familiar wording of Matt. For details, see the Note on the passage.

Lk xi 53, 54. Both *S* and *C* give support to the Western text of this passage, *C* agreeing exactly with Codex Bezae (which we may conjecture here to represent the Greek text underlying the Diatessaron). But *S* omits *ἵνα εὕρωσιν κατηγορῆσαι αὐτοῦ*, probably because there was nothing corresponding to these words in the Greek MS from which the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* was mainly rendered, i.e. it agreed with ℵB and the text adopted by Westcott and Hort.

Lk xiv 5. *υἱὸς ἢ βοῦς* B (and most Gk MSS) *e f q* sah syr.vg; *ὄνος ἢ βοῦς* ℵL 1&c 33 al^{p} lat.eur-vg arm; *πρόβατον ἢ βοῦς* D.

Here *S* and aeth have 'his ox or his ass'; *C* has 'his son or his ox or his ass.'

Lk xvii 11 'through the midst of Samaria and Galilee'] + 'and Jericho' lat.vt. *C*, but not *S*, has an addition which may be translated 'and Jericho' or 'to Jericho.' $Diat^{ar}$ omits the half-verse. For the linguistic details see the Note on the passage.

Joh viii 34 'He that doeth sin is a slave of sin'] so most documents; D *b* $Clem^{440}$ Cyp^{274} and *S* omit 'of sin.' This interesting reading is now further attested in Latin by the so-called *Tractatus Origenis*, pp. 25, 94.

It will be noticed that the agreements of *S* and *C* with the Western texts is of the most varied kind, ranging from passages where the whole

mass of Old Latin and allied documents is arrayed on the one side to passages where the Old Syriac, or one branch of it, is found to agree with a single Western text such as *k* or Cyprian. Agreements with Codex Bezae are frequent, but *S* and *C* shew no greater tendency to agree with it than with any other of the leading representatives of the Old Latin.

On the whole, I venture to think it is reasonable to suppose that most of the distinctively Western readings in the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* are due to the influence of the Diatessaron. At the same time we have seen that there are some readings of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe,* otherwise only attested by Western authorities, which yet are not in the Diatessaron. The genealogical interpretation of such readings is that they represent the primitive agreement of Rome and Antioch in rejecting a distinctively Alexandrian corruption. But the extant attestation does not differ from that of readings where *S* and *C* have received a Western corruption through the Diatessaron. One of the chief guides in this puzzling labyrinth is, I believe, to be found in the African text, i.e. Cyprian and *k* or *e*. The Africans have their own faults, but I do not think they seem to have been much influenced by Tatian's Harmony. If this be conceded, it follows that the agreement of *Carthage* and Edessa has a much stronger claim to our acceptance than the mere agreement of *Rome* and Edessa. The latter grouping may represent little more than a text locally current in Rome towards the end of the second century. The agreement of Carthage and Edessa may take us back a generation earlier.

Before taking leave of the Western texts, we may once more remind ourselves of the large non-Western element in the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe.* Many of the most characteristic Western readings find no place in it. Thus the quotation of Ps ii 7 in Lk iii 22 and the omission of the name 'Philip' in Matt xiv 3 are not attested by the Old Syriac, and in Matt v 4, 5, *S* preserves the Eastern order of the Beatitudes. Other passages where *S* rejects a well-marked Western variant are Mk ix 35, xiv 25, Lk ix 62, xii 38.

Class IV.

SC and secondary Greek MSS.

We have examined the nature of the agreements between the Old Syriac and the two chief strains of text found in our ancient authorities. But all the readings of the Old Syriac cannot be grouped under agreements with ℵB and agreements with the Western texts. There remain those readings, in some respects the most interesting class of all, where the Old Syriac agrees with neither of these groups, nor yet with the text current in the mass of later Greek MSS. These readings are not preserved in any Greek MS which is generally regarded as of primary importance, but they are actually extant in Greek. The secondary Greek attestation shews us that the reading in question is not a mere trick of Syriac rendering, while the witness of the Old Syriac in favour of the reading declares its antiquity and its claim on our serious consideration.

The MSS which contain noteworthy readings attested by the Old Syriac are

The group **1-118-131-209**, here called 1&c

The Ferrar-group **13-69-124-346-543** (and others), here called 13&c

565, called by Tischendorf 2^{pe}

28

700, called by Scrivener and Hoskier 604.

Of these the most important is the group 1&c. This group has been long familiar to scholars through its chief representative Codex 1, a MS used by Erasmus himself. Codex 1 has often been collated, and in 1902 its text was published in full by Mr Kirsopp Lake (now Professor in Leiden), together with its special allies (*Texts and Studies* vii 3). It will however be convenient to take all the MSS above enumerated together, as their textual affinity to the Old Syriac seems to be derived from their common remote ancestry rather than from their special composition. We are now, in fact, trying to gather readings from the Greek text of the Gospels as read in Syria before the 4th century. No Greek MS survives which has such a text even in approximate purity, and to collect our material we must use an eclectic method.

The few variants collected below have been brought together as examples of the help given us in this quest by 1&c 13&c 28 565 and 700. It must be remembered at the outset that we are dealing with a different class of evidence from what we have been hitherto considering. The ℵB-text and the 'Western' texts (including the Diatessaron) are practically contemporaneous in origin with the Old Syriac. They are 'authorities' on the same textual plane. Now we are dealing with inferior mixed texts, the antique elements of which are essentially fragmentary and often mutilated. They are in no sense rivals of the Old Syriac, like the Greek MS B or the Latin MS *k*: none of their readings when definitely contradicted by the ancient texts can be entertained as genuine. Their whole textual use is subsidiary.

At the same time the part that they may legitimately be made to play is considerable, when they preserve the Greek text which underlies the Old Syriac Version. The Old Syriac Version is one of our chief textual authorities, but its witness to the type of Greek text anciently current at Antioch is liable to suspicion from two sides. Like all versions, the Old Syriac may give us merely a translator's paraphrase where it seems to differ from the transmitted Greek: in such cases subsidiary Greek attestation, if it agree literally with the Syriac, tends to shew that the Syriac is preserving a real Greek variation. But besides this ordinary source of uncertainty, from which the Old Syriac suffers in common with other versions, there is the special uncertainty arising from the influence of the Diatessaron. And here the subsidiary Greek attestation plays a most important part. The Old Syriac is wholly ancient, but it is open to the suspicion that many of its readings are nothing more than a translation from the Diatessaron, nothing more than a translation of a text current in Rome. The subsidiary Greek attestation, on the other hand, is taken from a text full of late elements, but it is substantially free from the suspicion of mixture with the Diatessaron or the special Roman text of the end of the 2nd century. Readings, therefore, which are supported both by the Old Syriac and by these subsidiary Greek texts escape both accusations. Such readings must be really ancient, for they are found in the Old Syriac; and they are not mere Syriac adaptations of the Diatessaron, for they are extant in Greek MSS not specially connected with the West of Europe. In other words, like almost all the Old Syriac

readings which are neither due to the exigencies of translation nor rendered directly from Tatian's Diatessaron, these variants must have been found in the Greek text of the Gospels as read at Antioch about 200 AD.

Matt vi 6 τῷ 2°] *om.* syr.*S C* Diat^{ar} ix 27 (*sic*) Aph 67 = D al^{2} (latt) 1 13&c 700

By this omission the sense becomes 'Pray in secret to thy Father' instead of 'Pray to thy Father which is in secret.' The addition of 1 13&c 700 to the authorities for omission shews us that we cannot be sure that the Old Syriac took over this reading from the Diatessaron against the evidence of the text known to the translator. The use of τῷ ἐν τῷ κρυφαίῳ in Matt vi 18 instead of ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ (as here), when the Evangelist wishes to indicate 'the Father *who is in secret*' makes it not unlikely that the article has been wrongly inserted by most texts in *ver.* 6.

Matt xxii 35 εἷς ἐξ αὐτῶν νομικὸς] *om.* νομικὸς syr.*S* arm = 1&c *e* Orig^{lat}

Here *C* has the independent insertion ⲥⲭⲓⲁⲥ (= γραμματεύς). The words νομικός and νομοδιδάσκαλος in the Gospels are characteristic of S. Luke alone, so that νομικός is out of place in Matt xxii 35 and should be omitted. In this passage, then, the only Greek text that preserves a good reading attested by the consensus of the best extant representatives of the most ancient versions is the family 1&c.

Matt xxv 1 τοῦ νυμφίου] + καὶ τῆς νύμφης syr.*S*-vg arm = D X* 1*-209* 124* al^{5} latt

There is no evidence for '*and the Bride*' in any of our more ancient authorities for the Diatessaron text, but this may be merely accidental. The erasure of καὶ τῆς νύμφης from every one of the late Greek documents which do contain the words saves these documents from the suspicion of having been conformed to the Latin Vulgate.

Matt xxvii 16, 17 Βαραββᾶν..... Βαραββᾶν] Ἰησοῦν Βαραββᾶν..... Ἰησοῦν τὸν Βαραββᾶν syr.*S* arm = 1&c. See the Note on this passage for the inconsistent reading of B.

Mk i 13 ἐκεῖ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ (*so* ς)] *om.* ἐν τῇ ἐρ. syr.*S* arm = 1&c 28* 565 700 69-124 al^{mult}; *om.* ἐκεῖ ℵABDL 33 13-346&c latt aeg Orig

Here is a clear instance of conflation in the Constantinopolitan text, but instead of its elements being made up of an Alexandrian reading on the one hand and a Western reading on the other, it is made up of an Alexandrian and Western reading added to an Eastern reading[1].

Mk ii 27 ἐγένετο] ἐκτίσθη syr.*S*-vg = 1&c 700

This curious reading, *viz.* 'The Sabbath was created for man,' is not attested for the Diatessaron (*Moes.* 62, 148, and see the Note on the passage). There is no real ground for supposing that 'was created' is a Syriac paraphrase for ἐγένετο. It is to be noted that no ancient Western text of this passage survives, *ver.* 27 being omitted by D *a c e ff i* (*r*).

Mk iii 17 Βοανηργές] *B'nai R'gesh*[2] syr.*S*-vg, *Banerегês* arm = Βανηρεγες 565, Βανηρεγεζ 700

It is exceedingly improbable that 565 and 700 have here got their text through the Syriac.

Mk v 1 Γερασηνῶν] Γεργεσηνῶν syr.*S* arm aeth = ℵ^{c}LUΔ 33 al^{20} 1&c 28 565 700

It is to be noted that neither *S* nor *C* reads '*Gergesenes*' in Lk viii 26, 37.

Mk vi 22, 23 'And the king said unto the girl: "Ask of me whatsoever thou wilt, and I will give it thee." [23]And he sware unto her: "whatsoever thou shalt ask of me I will give thee, unto the half of my kingdom.'] 'And the king said to the girl: "Ask of me [what thou wilt], and I will give to thee [23]unto the half of my kingdom." And he sware unto her' syr.*S* = 1-209.

Here D (28) 565 lat.vt arm have the common text, but add πολλά after καὶ ὤμοσεν αὐτῇ.

[1] The full list of Greek authorities which according to Hoskier have ἐκεῖ without ἐν τῇ ερήμῳ is ΚΠ* 1 4 9 11 12 28* [42] 50 69 72 114 124 131 209 253 300 474 489 565 700; add syr.*S* and arm, together with the *Book of Kells*.

[2] Written ܒܢܝ ܐܪܓܫ. The vocalisation here adopted is that of syr.vg according to the Jacobites.

Note that in the early part of *ver.* 22 syr.*S*-vg arm aeth agree with 1&c *b c f* in reading τῆς θυγατρὸς τῆς Ἡρῳδιάδος, where ℵBDLΔ 565 have τῆς θ. αὐτοῦ Ἡρῳδιάδος and most documents have τῆς θ. αὐτῆς τῆς Ἡρῳδιάδος.

Mk vii 33. In the complicated variations found in this verse, syr.*S* agrees with 13&c 28, while D 565 side with the Old Latin. For details, see above, p. 127 *f.*

Mk viii 10 εἰς τὰ μέρη Δαλμανουθά] *to the hill of Magadan* syr.*S* = εἰς τὸ ὄρος μαγεδᾶ 28 (*sic*).

The name Dalmanutha is almost certainly corrupt, and there is much to be said for Dr Cheyne's suggestion (*Ency. Bibl.* 1635) that the place meant is *Migdal-nunaya*, a suburb of Tiberias. מגדל נוניא, i.e. 'Tower of the Fishes,' is mentioned in Talmud B. *Pes.* 46 *b*. On this hypothesis the name was miswritten in a very early copy of S. Mark (*cf* 'Boanerges') and the various texts, including S. Matthew's Gospel, give more or less independent attempts at emendation[1].

But be that as it may, the agreement here between 28 and syr.*S* is of considerable interest for the history of the text. If syr.*S* had not been supported by Greek evidence, it might have been assumed that the Syriac rendering was a mere paraphrastical harmonisation; if 28 had stood alone, the reading it supports would be set aside as the lapse of a mediaeval scribe. As it is, we must recognise that even singular readings of the group of minuscules which we are considering, *viz.* 1&c 13&c 28 565 700, may be genuine relics of a Greek text akin to that from which the Old Syriac was translated.

Mk ix 43 εἰς τὴν γέενναν] *om.* syr.*S* = 1&c 28 al

In *ver.* 45 syr.*S* with the best authorities omits εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἄσβεστον, and also *vv.* 44 and 46 which are identical with *ver.* 48. Thus instead of the repetitions of the ordinary text, repetitions

[1] In Mk viii 10 codex B has ΔΑΛΜΑΝΟΥΝΘΑ, which is a step nearer to the hypothetical ΜΑΓΔΑΛΝΟΥΝΕΑ, or Μαγδαλνουναία, conjectured by Dr Cheyne. The Armenian *Dalmanounea* is still nearer.

which in *ver.* 43 have invaded even the text of Westcott and Hort, we get the series "...the unquenchable Fire...Gehenna... Gehenna, where neither their worm dieth nor is their fire quenched."

That the doubled εἰς in the ordinary text of *ver.* 43 is not original is also suggested by the fact that the second εἰς is changed into ὅπου ἐστίν by D and the Old Latin.

Mk x 11, 12. In syr.*S* and 1 these verses are transposed, so that the prohibition of the wife leaving her husband comes before that of the husband leaving his wife. In 209 the latter clause is omitted altogether. Is it not possible that the reading of 1 and syr.*S* is the original? Later editors would be more likely to put the man before the woman than the woman before the man; moreover the order supported by 1 and syr.*S* brings out more strongly the unmistakeable reference to Herodias and Herod Antipas, which underlies the whole story as told in the primitive narrative of S. Mark.

Mk x 14 ἠγανάκτησεν καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς] after καὶ syr.*S* adds ἐπιτιμήσας = 1&c 13&c 28 565 (and arm). A clearly recensional variant.

Mk x 20 ἐφυλαξάμην (or ἐφύλαξα)] ἐποίησα syr.*S* arm = 1&c[1] 565. 'Done' instead of 'kept' is also read in Aphraates 392, but there is no evidence for ἐποίησα in Matt or Lk.

Mk x 50 ἀποβαλὼν] ἐπιβαλὼν syr.*S* aeth = 565. Another instance of an early variant preserved in Greek only in a single minuscule.

Mk xvi 3, 4. On the transposition here found in D 565 lat.eur as well as in syr.*S* and Diat[ar] lii 47, see above, p. 241. I mention this reading again here because it is supported by 565 as well as by Codex Bezae.

Lk vi 48 'because it was well builded' (*so* ℵBL&c)] *om.* syr.*S* = 700. Most documents read 'for it was founded upon the rock,' in agreement with Matt vii 25[2].

[1] Note that syr.*S* does not omit διδάσκαλε in x 20, as is done by κΠ 1–209 al[7].

[2] It is interesting to note that so conservative a scholar as Mr H. C. Hoskier ventured in 1890 to suggest that in this instance the reading of a single minuscule preserved the original text (Hoskier's *Codex Evangelium* 604, p. cxvi).

Lk xi 33 οὐδὲ ὑπὸ τὸν μόδιον] *om.* syr.*S* arm = LΓΞ 1&c 69 700. The words are inserted in syr.*C* in such a way that the 'bushel' comes before the 'concealed place': *cf* cod. Fuldensis, p. 46. The important fragments edited by Amélineau in *Not. et Extr.* xxxiv, which represent a type of Greek text current in Upper Egypt, also omit the clause in agreement with LΞ.

Joh i 28. See the separate Note.

Joh ix 34 ὅλος] ὅλως syr.*S* arm = 1&c al[7]. The reading implied by *S* is certain: *cf* Matt v 34 *S C*.

Joh xix 13 Γαββαθά] καπφαθᾶ 1 19[mg] 22 138 565 and the Armenian. Unfortunately both *S* and *C* are missing, but the agreement of 1 and 565 with the Armenian leaves little doubt that the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* had here ܟܦܦܬܐ *Kapphĕthâ*, i.e. 'Arch.' The Peshitta has ܟܘܒܒܐ, a word a little nearer Γαββαθά in sound, but meaning 'coved,' 'having a niche.'[1]

It is worthy of special notice that 565 in Joh xix seems to present the same type of text that it has in Mk, though in the greater part of Joh it differs little from the run of late MSS.

Class V.

Noteworthy singular readings of S and C.

The singular readings of the Old Syriac must always lie under a certain amount of suspicion, because it is always possible that such readings never existed in Greek, but were mere mistakes or simplifications due to the translator. At the same time we should expect to find a certain number of valuable singular readings. To take the most obvious instance, there are several ancient readings preserved only by the Old Syriac and the African Latin: where the best representatives of the African Latin fail us we may expect to find some equally ancient readings preserved by the Old Syriac alone.

[1] *Romance of Julian* 139[21]: a ܟܘܒܒܐ ܟܪܝܣ was suitable for an extemporised altar.

The singular readings of the Old Syriac, about which we may have the most confidence that they represent ancient Greek variants, are those which supply one element of a variant, otherwise only attested as part of a conflation. The famous conflate readings upon which so much of Dr Hort's textual theory is founded are combinations of an ancient Alexandrian—Dr Hort would say 'Neutral'—text with its almost equally ancient Western rival. The normal Greek attestation of such readings is B for the Alexandrian side, D for the Western side and the mass of codices for the combination of the two rival variants together. In these readings the Old Syriac goes sometimes with B, sometimes with D.

But there is another class of conflate readings in which ℵBD and the Latins are all grouped on the one side, the opposing group being mostly made up of the minuscules 1&c 13&c 28 565 700, the readings of which we have just been considering. But these minuscules, valuable as they are, are not nearly so true to type as Codex Bezae. It often happens that they present the ordinary Constantinopolitan reading, especially in Matt Lk and Joh, and so the Old Syriac is often left alone as the representative of the ancient variant. In such cases the text attested by the Old Syriac survives only in those parts of the longest reading which are *not* attested by the Alexandrians and the Latins. It will be found that most of the examples given below illustrate this state of things.

Matt xxiii 23 ταῦτα δὲ ἔδει ποιῆσαι, κἀκεῖνα μὴ ἀφεῖναι.

Here Westcott and Hort follow BCL al[30] *a d h* syr.vg boh in reading δεεδει, while ειδει alone (without δὲ) is read by ϛ ℵ D[gr] al[pl] lat.*e*-vg arm. But syr.*S C* have

ܗܠܝܢ ܕܥܒܕܬ ܘܗܠܝܢ ܠܐ ܫܒܩܬ

But these ye have done, but these ye have not left.

This is evidently a rendering of a Greek text in which δὲ was present but ἔδει was omitted.

I venture to think that there is good reason to believe that the reading implied by the Syriac is the original. The Syriac as it stands is, of course, almost incoherent unless we supply a note of interrogation at the end, but the Greek implied by the Syriac sounds to me like a literal rendering of an Aramaic original. ταῦτα δὲ ποιῆσαι κἀκεῖνα

μὴ ἀφεῖναι might very well stand for

והלין למעבד ולא הלין למשבק

where the infinitives with ל have the same force as להכות in 2 Ki xiii 19 *Heb.* The sense is the same as when ἔδει is supplied, but the rhetorical effect is stronger without it.

A New Testament parallel to this construction is to be found in 2 Cor xii 1, where we ought to read with ℵ (D_2*) al boh aeth καυχᾶσθαι δέ—οὐ συμφέρον μέν—ἐλεύσομαι δὲ εἰς ὀπτασίας κ.τ.λ., a broken construction that well suits the impassioned style of the context.

Lk xix 37 περὶ πασῶν ὧν εἶδον δυνάμεων.

For this, syr.*S C* have simply περὶ πάντων ὧν εἶδον, while D *r* have περὶ πάντων ὧν εἶδον γ(ε)ινομένων, the whole clause being omitted by *c ff i l s*. The chief interest of this variation consists in the fact that the great codex Vaticanus has ΠΕΡΙΠΑΝΤΩΝΩΝΕΙΔΟΝΔΥΝΑΜΕΩΝ, a false concord which suggests that its ancestor attested the shorter reading, now found only in the Old Syriac.

Lk xxiv 46 οὕτως γέγραπται] The note on these words in Westcott and Hort's *Notes on Select Readings* ran as follows:—"+ καὶ οὕτως ἔδει Syrian (Gr. Lat. Syr.): also οὕτως ἔδει omitting οὕτως γέγραπται καὶ cu[4] arm Eus.*Theoph.* syr. iv 2 (Epiph): also < οὕτως *c e* Cyp. Probably three independent corrections of the (in the sense intended) abrupt phrase οὕτως γέγραπται παθεῖν; though the Syrian reading might be a conflation of text and the second, had the second more substantive attestation: ἔδει comes from the similar v. 26."

The suggestion thus made has been confirmed by the discovery of syr.*S*, which omits οὕτως γέγραπται καὶ while retaining οὕτως ἔδει. *C* is not extant, but the evidence of the Armenian shews that *S* here preserves the genuine Old Syriac reading. The four Greek minuscules are 72 237 240 244: I have not noticed that any of them shew any tendency to agree with the Old Syriac, so that their reading here may be due to the accidental dropping of a clause.

Joh iii 18 τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ] See the Notes on this passage and on Joh i 34, where it is suggested that *S* (which reads 'the Chosen Son,' i.e. τοῦ ἐκλεκτοῦ υἱοῦ) may alone have preserved the true reading.

Joh iv 9 γυναικὸς Σαμαρίτιδος οὔσης] *om.* syr.*S*. The following words οὐ γὰρ συγχρῶνται Ἰουδαῖοι Σαμαρείταις are omitted by ℵ*D *a b e*: is it possible that this gloss arose as an explanatory paraphrase of γυναικὸς Σαμαρίτιδος οὔσης, i.e. that it was intended to round off the woman's speech? If so, syr.*S* preserves an earlier stage than the mass of Greek MSS.

The main object of this chapter has been to shew that, when all the necessary deductions have been made, we may learn a great deal from the Old Syriac as to the type of text current in Antioch about the end of the second century. It is useless to attempt to sum up the results of so tentative an investigation as has been here made. One thing, however, remains—to point out the great gap that still exists in our knowledge of the early history of the text of the Canonical Gospels. Speaking generally, we learn the Roman text from Justin Martyr, from Tatian, from D and the Latins, the special variety current in Carthage being preserved with great purity in *k*. We learn the Alexandrian text from ℵ and B, so far as the evidence is not directly contradicted by the puzzling witness of Clement. We learn the early Antiochian text from the Old Syriac. But of the texts current in the fourth great centre of early Christendom, Ephesus and Asia Minor, we know very little. It is almost certain that the manuscripts of this part of the Christian world must have exercised some influence on the texts which have survived to our times, but at present this question is almost untouched and the ancient readings characteristic of Asia Minor and the MSS that preserve them remain alike unidentified.

NOTES ON SELECT READINGS

Codex *S*, *fol.* 23 v, *as now bound* (Mk xvi 1—8 ; Lk i 1—3).

i 1–16 On the general correctness of the spelling of Hebrew proper names see *Introduction*, p. 202 *f.* For 'Shala' (*vv.* 4, 5), see Ruth iv 20, 21 syr.vg. It is remarkable that the earlier Syriac tradition so often has ܝ at the end of these names where it ought to be ܪ, e.g. ܥܘܒܝ *Ober* (for 'Obed') in *C A*^{a}, ܐܒܝܗܘܕ *Abior* (for 'Abiud') in *S C*, and ܐܠܝܗܘܕ *Elior* (for 'Eliud') in *C*; similarly we find ܐܪܦܟܣܕ for Arphaxad in Lk iii 36, on which see the Note. These mistakes, for such they are, afford a welcome proof that the earliest Syriac version of the New Testament was made before the diacritic point which distinguishes *r* from *d* was in general use.

i 8 The insertion by *C* of the three kings of Judah omitted by the Evangelist has some historic interest, as it was long supposed to be the only variant of the 'Old Syriac' supported by Syriac patristic evidence. But it is really nothing more than an interpolation due to the misplaced erudition of a scribe who did not pay attention to the 'fourteen generations' expressly counted in *v.* 17. What Barsalibi says is: 'There was once (ܐܝܬ) found a Syriac MS conflated (ܡܫܚ) from the Hebrew, which inserted the Three Kings in the Genealogy'; there is nothing else to shew that this MS was a copy of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe.*

i 18 ܕܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܐ ܕ in *C* must surely be wrong. The first letter is illegible in *S* and Eus. *HE*^{syr} 60 has ܕܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܐ ܕ 'before ever they came near.' The imperfect after ܠܐ ܕ is regular and idiomatic in Syriac (*Nöldeke* § 267), while ܠܐ ܕ with the imperfect in the sense of 'though they had not...,' would be harsh. An instance seems to occur in *A*^{a} 340 (ܠܐ ܕ ܟܕ ܠܐ), but probably that also is a blunder.

Perhaps however ܠܐ ܕ was substituted by *C* in Matt i 18 for ܠܐ ܕ to exclude the so-called Helvidian theory that the 'brethren' of our Lord were the younger children of Joseph and Mary. In that case the irregularity of the grammar really arises from dogmatical considerations.

i 21 ܠܥܡܗ *C*; ܠܥܡܗ *S* and syr.vg (= τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ). We may compare Lk ii 10, where *S* and syr.vg have ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܐ for παντὶ τῷ λαῷ. It is always tempting to assign confusions of ܥܠܡܐ 'world' and ܥܡܐ 'people' to a Syriac origin, but in Matt i 21 the variation in the suffix shews that the change was not due to a simple graphical error. In view of the far-reaching variations of *S* from syr.vg in this chapter (including the addition of ܥ to ܢܫܘܥ in this very verse, noticed on p. 200), it is hardly likely that ܠܥܡܗ is a mere correction from the Peshitta. See also on Lk ii 10.

i 16–25 The variations of *S* and *C* in these verses from the ordinary text are best taken together; and contrary to the usual custom, I think it will be better to begin with historical and dogmatic considerations and then go on to the details of the transmitted text. I do this from a firm belief that no fresh light upon the historical events of the Nativity has been thrown either by the discovery of *S* or by the publication of the *Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila*.

The belief that Jesus Christ was born from a virgin mother was not a constituent part of the earliest preaching of Christianity. Even if credence was given to the dogma by those who had heard of it, the silence of S. Mark, of S. John, and of S. Paul, is enough to shew that to them, and to the circles for which they wrote, the theory of the birth of Jesus from a virgin was either unknown or was at most an unessential accompaniment of the Incarnation of the Messiah. In the case of S. Paul we may even claim that the words which he uses to assert the true humanity and Israelite nationality of God's predestined Son, *born of woman, born under Law* (Gal iv 4), imply rather that His birth was essentially natural rather than peculiar. The phrase *Man that is born of a woman* is found in Job xiv 1, and that passage may even have been in S. Paul's mind, though doubtless it had been used for 'a human being' in many a verse and proverb before the author of Job enshrined it in Hebrew literature.

We do not know what led to the propagation of the dogma of the Virgin-birth. The evidence for it rests upon the narratives in the First and Third Evangelists and the general belief of the Church in the second century. It is difficult, if not impossible, to harmonise the details of Matthew and Luke, but the fact that the two narratives are absolutely independent of each other shews that the points upon which the writers agree were not their own invention. The tradition or belief, therefore, known to the First and Third Evangelists and accepted by them, was that Joseph the husband of Mary was a descendant of King David, that Jesus the Messiah was born at Bethlehem, having been conceived by Mary while she was yet a virgin, and that afterwards the Holy Family lived at Nazareth. It is certain that this much was believed by Matthew (as I shall for convenience call the First Evangelist) and that he did not invent it. The matter in hand is the question of textual criticism, and for that purpose this very bare conclusion is quite sufficient.

I must now indicate very briefly the arguments that lead me to believe that the first two chapters of the First Gospel are the work of the same hand as the rest of the Gospel. In common with the majority of modern scholars I believe that our First Gospel is based on a document identical with, or very closely akin to, the Gospel according to S. Mark, while another document has supplied the material for the long Discourses, such as the Sermon on the Mount, &c. Besides these two main sources the Evangelist had access to some other traditions, possibly written, possibly oral, which supplied peculiar features like the earthquake at the crucifixion and the story of the guard at our Lord's tomb. To the Evangelist himself may be assigned the characteristic quotations from Old Testament prophecy, by which he intends to shew that all the stages of Christ's life on earth, and not only the events of the Passion, were fulfilled according to what the Scriptures had foretold. The Greek style of Matthew is marked; he has a fondness for certain words and phrases, so that almost every passage of considerable length contains some of them.

When we come to Matt i, ii, and ask ourselves whether these chapters belong to the rest of the Gospel, or whether they are to be regarded as a later insertion, we find that the internal literary evidence is extraordinarily strong in their favour. The two chapters contain no less than five of the O.T. quotations, accompanied by the regular Matthaean *formulae*; we find also the same machinery of dreams which is employed later on in the story of Pilate's wife (xxvii 19), itself an incident peculiar to Matthew. The linguistic peculiarities of these chapters are conveniently tabulated in Sir John Hawkins' *Horae Synopticae*, pp. 4–7; it is sufficient here to note that in the short compass of Matt i and ii—only 48 verses in all, 16 of which are taken up with a genealogy—we find of the characteristic Matthaean words ἀναχωρεῖν, λεγόμενος (with names), ὄναρ, πληροῦσθαι, ῥηθέν, σφόδρα, τότε, φαίνεσθαι. We may say, in fact, that if the Nativity Story (Matt i 18–ii 23) be not an integral part of the First Gospel, it must be counted one of the cleverest of literary adaptations, a verdict that is not likely to be passed on it by a sane criticism. The literary evidence for the authorship of the Genealogy (Matt i 1–17) is in the nature of things slighter. Yet even here we have the characteristic λεγόμενος in *v.* 16, and the objective way that the writer speaks of 'the Christ' in *v.* 17 is quite in the manner of Matt xi 2.

The contents of Matt i and ii, apart from the intrinsic interest of the events related, events which in the view of the Evangelist were even in their details the direct fulfilment of prophecy, fit in excellently with the general scheme. The Gospel according to Matthew may well be called *The Book of Jesus Christ, the son of David.* Under this title our Lord is recognised by the two blind men (ix 27), by the multitudes (xii 23), by the Canaanitish woman (xv 22), by the children in the Temple itself (xxi 9, 15). He is the King of the twelve tribes of Israel (xix 28), who is ultimately to reign over all the nations (xxv 34). The special aim of Matthew, in one word, is to represent our Lord as the legitimate Heir of the royal house of David. This aim is strictly pursued in Matt i, ii. The Genealogy exhibits the royal descent of Jesus Christ, while the Nativity Story shews us the alarm of the usurper Herod, when he learns that the legitimate ruler has been born within his dominions. As Saul tried to kill David, so Herod tries to kill Jesus; and Jesus finds a refuge in Egypt, as David found a refuge among the Philistines.

I believe therefore that Matt i and ii form an integral part of the First Gospel. We have now to consider what view of the Nativity the Evangelist wishes to set before us. There can in the first place be no doubt at all that Matthew wishes us to learn that Jesus Christ was conceived by Mary while yet a virgin. This is not a question of textual criticism, of the omission of a word here or there. The whole paragraph i 18–25 is absolutely based on this assumption. Joseph finds his betrothed with child, but on the authority of Divine revelation he learns that this has taken place not ἐκ πορνείας but ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου. Accordingly he accepts Mary as his wife, and on the birth of the child he accepts the child as his son by naming him, in obedience to the command of the Angel.

I do not know what view the learned Sir Robert Filmer took of this question (see *Patriarcha* i 9), but to me the position taken up by the Evangelist seems as logical as the necessities of the case allowed. If the Messiah be the son of no earthly father and at the same time the legitimate heir of David, it is difficult to see what else he could

have said. That the Messiah should be merely a son of David was not enough. There were doubtless many sons of David alive at the time; but the Evangelist wanted the legitimate Heir of the Divine promises made to David. That the infant Jesus was the legitimate Heir was proved for Matthew by the miracles which were performed on His behalf and by the prophecies which were at once fulfilled by the circumstances of His childhood. The points which Matthew wishes to impress on his readers are the *physical reality* of the birth of Christ from a virgin and the *legality* of the descent from David. The physical reality of the descent from David was, as I understand him, a matter of no moment so long as the legal conditions were satisfied.

To come at last to the Genealogy. A great deal has been written since the discovery of the Sinai Palimpsest about the original form of this Genealogy, about supposed Temple registers, &c. I cannot believe that any document underlies it. On the contrary, I believe that it is the composition of the Evangelist himself. It is a statement of claim that 'Jesus called Christ' is the heir of David, but I do not believe that it is meant to be a statement of physical facts, any more than in the case of the corresponding lists in Chronicles upon which it is so closely modelled. The contemporaries of the Evangelist knew their Bible at least as well as we do. They knew that there were more than 14 generations between David and the Captivity, that Joram did not beget Uzziah, and that Josiah did not beget Jeconiah. Nor would the fact that the Evangelist had followed the statements in 1 Chron iii 17 allow them to forget the tremendous curses that Jeremiah had pronounced upon this same Jeconiah: *Earth, earth, earth, hear the word of the Lord! Thus saith the Lord, Write ye this man childless,...for no man of his seed shall prosper, sitting upon the throne of David, and ruling any more in Judah* (Jer xxii 29*f.*). As S. Irenaeus says, *adv. Haer.* III xxi 9, *Super haec autem nec rex esse posset si quidem Ioseph filius fuisset, nec heres secundum Hieremiam.*

Throughout the whole Genealogy the Evangelist appears to be telling us in an audible aside that the heir had often been born out of the direct line or irregularly. Thamar the daughter-in-law of Judah, Rahab the harlot, Ruth the Moabitess, and the unnamed wife of Uriah, are forced upon our attention, as if to prepare us for still greater irregularity in the last stage. This again is no matter of textual criticism and 'various readings': just as we cannot emend the miraculous conception out of the Nativity story, so we cannot get rid of the essential and intentional artificiality in the Genealogy. The Genealogy in S. Luke is quite different: I know no reason why the series in Lk iii 23–31 may not be the names of the ancestors of Joseph up to David, and there can be little doubt that S. Luke believed himself to be giving the true names. But I cannot believe that the Genealogy in Matt i 2–16 rests on any previous list of Joseph's ancestors. It is artificial from beginning to end, and meant to be so, as artificial as the lists of the twelve thousand sealed out of every tribe of Israel except Dan in the Book of Revelation[1].

[1] I rejoice to think that this view of the Genealogy in S. Matthew was also held by so orthodox a theologian as the late Bishop Westcott. He says in his own note on Matt i 16 (Westcott and Hort's *Introduction*, 2nd ed., Appendix, p. 141): "it is scarcely necessary to add that ἐγέννησεν in this genealogy expresses legal heirship and not physical descent."

From what has been said it is evident that no light can be thrown by any statement in this Genealogy upon the physical facts of the Nativity. If the Genealogy had ended with the uncompromising statement 'and Joseph begat Jesus' it would not prove that the Evangelist believed that Joseph had been the natural father of Jesus. All that the Evangelist cares about is that Joseph accepted Jesus as his son; and further, that Joseph was justified in so doing, because of the exceptional circumstances that had been revealed to him by the Angel.

It has been necessary to discuss these questions at length, because our judgement upon the various readings that are actually found in Matt i 16–25 must be influenced by the general view we take of the passage, i.e. whether we are looking for a document with a different tendency underlying the text, or contrariwise hold that no such document ever existed.

The important points of variation are four, *viz.*

(i) the omission in i 24.
(ii) the addition of 'to thee' by the Old Syriac in i 21.
(iii) the nominative to be supplied to ἐκάλεσεν in i 25.
(iv) the variations in i 16.

(i) Matt i 24, 25, runs as follows:—

"Now when Joseph arose from sleep he did as the angel of the Lord commanded him; and he took his wife and [knew her not until] she bare a son, and called his name Jesus."

The words between brackets are omitted by *k* and *S*. They are, I believe, right in so doing. According to the view of the whole matter which has been explained above, the shorter text expresses the meaning of the Evangelist. He was only concerned at this point to assert that Joseph publicly accepted Mary as his lawful wife and publicly acknowledged her son as lawfully born in wedlock. The domestic arrangements which their piety may have suggested to them were not a matter of concern for the world at large. But it is easy to see how later generations of Christians, more impressed with the significance of the physical miracle and less anxious to assure the legality of our Lord's title to be Heir of David, might find difficulties in the shorter text. Accordingly most documents insert the words which I have enclosed in brackets; while the Diatessaron, here followed by *C*, inserts *lived purely with her until* in the same place. *C* also changes 'his wife' into 'Mary,' still further to remove the impression that they might have lived together as man and wife. The reading of *C* and the Diatessaron presupposes the shorter text of *k* and *S*, for the ordinary text does not provoke alteration in that sense. From the point of view of textual genealogy, the agreement of the African Latin (*k*) with the original form of the Old Syriac (*S*), virtually supported as it is *but not caused* by the Diatessaron, carries us back to the earliest stage of the Canonical text.

(ii) In *v.* 21 both *S* and *C* make the Angel say of Mary to Joseph *She will bear thee a son*, as if it were τέξεται δὲ υἱόν σοι, καὶ καλέσεις κ.τ.λ., just like Lk i 13. The addition is interesting, inasmuch as its presence in *C* as well as *S* makes it certain that in this whole series of variations it is *S* that preserves the original form of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, and that the variants of *C* are later attempts at emendation. Similarly, in *v.* 25, *S* has *she bare him a son*, but here *C* omits, in company with the

rest of our witnesses. It is tempting to suppose that the pronoun is genuine, as it is quite in harmony with the point of view of the Evangelist. But its absence from *k* and the other Latins makes it on the whole more probable that it is a mere stylistic addition to the Syriac by the translator of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* and that it never had a place in the Greek text.

(iii) ἐκάλεσεν in Greek and Latin may refer either to Joseph or to Mary, but in Syriac and in English we are bound to take a side. The command of the Angel as to the naming of Mary's Child is given to Joseph (*v.* 21), so that we can hardly doubt that the English versions both of 1611 and of 1881 are right when they make Joseph the nominative of the verb in *v.* 25. By naming the Child, Joseph accepts Him publicly as a lawfully born member of his family. It is therefore thoroughly satisfactory to find this view confirmed by *S*, which has a masculine verb in *v.* 25. But *C* and the Peshitta, apparently following Tatian, adopt the other view, and make the verb in *v.* 25 feminine. This was all the more tempting in Syriac, because ܬܶܩܪܳܐ, the form of the verb required in *v.* 21 and used both by *S* and the Peshitta, may mean either 'and thou (*masc.*) shalt call' or 'and she shall call.' In such a case it is legitimate to interpret the doubtful tense by what follows; probably the scribe of *S* wrote ܢܶܩܪܳܐ in *v.* 21 for the 2nd sing. masc., while the Peshitta wrote it for the 3rd sing. fem. But *C* goes still further and reads ܢܶܬܩܪܶܐ, so that the clause reads 'and his name shall be called.' Here again the object of the change is to minimise the part played by Joseph.

It is worth notice that Cod. Sangermanensis (*g*), the 'mixed' Latin MS that has so many affinities with the Diatessaron, has in *v.* 21 not *uocabis* but *uocabit*, in agreement with the interpretation of the Syriac implied by the Peshitta.

(iv) The textual problems involved in Matt i 16 are exceedingly complex, and I cannot claim to have arrived at a solution that satisfies all the elements of the puzzle. But if what I have said above be accepted, as to the general aim and composition of the Genealogy, the intrinsic interest of the determination of the original text in this passage is considerably lessened. Whatever our decision be, the question is only a matter of literary criticism, not of historical fact.

The distinction is important, because some critics, believing that this Genealogy must have been based on an earlier document, have acclaimed the texts that contain or seem to contain the statement Ἰωσὴφ...ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν as the representatives of an earlier form than the received text, and as genuine relics of the (supposed) naturalistic account of the birth of Jesus which they conjecture to stand behind Matt i and ii. But if the Genealogy be the composition of the Evangelist himself, it will reflect his own point of view.

The two readings of Matt i 16 which are extant in Greek MSS are

(α) Ἰακὼβ δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰωσὴφ τὸν ἄνδρα Μαρίας, ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστός.

This is the reading of ℵB and most MSS, and it is definitely attested by Tertullian, *De Carne Christi* § 20.

(β) Ἰακὼβ δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰωσήφ, ᾧ μνηστευθεῖσα παρθένος Μαριὰμ ἐγέννησεν Ἰησοῦν τὸν λεγόμενον Χριστόν.

This is the reading attested by the 'Ferrar Group.' It is also implied by the

various forms of the Old Latin and by the text which underlies the extant Armenian version[1].

In Syriac we find

ܝܥܩܘܒ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܝܘܣܦ ܒܥܠܗ ܕܡܪܝܡ ܕܡܢܗ ܐܬܝܠܕ ܝܫܘܥ ܕܡܫܬܡܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ.

Jacob begat Joseph the husband of Mary, from whom was born Jesus called the Messiah.

This is the reading of syr.vg., agreeing with (*a*).

ܝܥܩܘܒ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܝܘܣܦ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܚܫܒ ܠܗ ܥܡ ܡܪܝܡ ܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܗܝ ܕܝܠܕܬ ܠܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ.

Jacob begat Joseph, him to whom was betrothed Mary the Virgin, she who bare Jesus the Messiah.

This is the reading of *C*. The double relative shews that this text cannot be primitive: it looks to me like an attempt to rewrite the text of *S*.

ܝܥܩܘܒ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܝܘܣܦ ܝܘܣܦ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܚܫܒ ܠܗ ܥܡ ܡܪܝܡ ܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܝܫܘܥ ܕܡܫܬܡܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ.

Jacob begat Joseph; Joseph, to whom was betrothed Mary the Virgin, begat Jesus called the Messiah.

This is the text of *S*. It is with genuine regret—I must ask my readers to excuse this expression of personal feeling—that I find myself unable to derive the reading of the Sinai Palimpsest from anything but *β*. I believe that *S* accurately preserves the original text of the Old Syriac version in this passage and that all the other Syriac variants (in *C*, in Aphraates and elsewhere) are derived from that of *S*. But the reading of *S* itself I have come to regard as nothing more than a paraphrase of the reading of the 'Ferrar Group,' the Syriac translator taking ᾧ to refer to *ἐγέννησεν* as well as to *μνηστευθεῖσα*.

The main consideration that has led me to this conclusion is the impossibility of rendering the text of *S* into Greek in such a way as to run harmoniously with the rest of the Genealogy. The text of *S* implies Ἰακὼβ δὲ ἐγ. τὸν Ἰωσήφ· Ἰωσὴφ [δὲ] ᾧ *μνηστευθεῖσα* [ἦν] π. Μ. *ἐγέννησεν* Ἰ. *τὸν* λεγ. Χ. This as it stands, whether we read *ἐμνηστεύθη* with Westcott or *μνηστευθεῖσα ἦν* with Blass, is much clumsier than the rest of the Genealogy. The practice of the writer is to interpose no words between the name and the verb *ἐγέννησεν*, so that the clause ᾧ *μνηστ. παρθ.* Μ. ought to follow the first mention of Joseph, not the second. There is of course no grammatical objection to assuming that

[1] The more important Old Latin texts here extant are :—

...Iosef · cui desponsata · uirgo · Maria genuit Iesum Christum *k*
...Ioseph cui desponsata · uirgo Maria peperit Christum Iesum *d* (D^{gr} is lost)
...Ioseph cui desponsata uirgo Maria genuit Iesum qui dicitur Christus *a*
...Ioseph cui disponsata uirgo Maria genuit Iesum qui uocatur Christus *g*
...Ioseph cui desponsata erat uirgo Maria · uirgo autem Maria genuit Iesum... *b*
...Ioseph cui desponsata uirgo Maria; Maria autem genuit Iesum qui dicitur Christus *c*

the original had simply

Ἰακὼβ δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰωσήφ· Ἰωσὴφ δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν λεγ. Χριστόν

but in that case there would be no mention of Mary at all. It is inconceivable that the Evangelist, who thought it served the purpose that he had in hand to mention Thamar, Rahab, Ruth and Uriah's wife, should leave the step containing Joseph bare. No evidence exists, as a matter of fact, for omitting all reference to Mary. Had we such a text as Ἰακ. δὲ ἐγέννη. τὸν Ἰωσὴφ τὸν ἄνδρα Μαρίας· Ἰωσὴφ δὲ ἐγέννησεν κ.τ.λ. the case would have been different, but the evidence does not point that way. And in that case also the reading of *S* would be further from the original than that of ℵB and Tertullian.

As I have explained at length in the earlier part of this Note I believe the question to be only one of literary and textual interest. But what is to me a very serious matter is this. If the clause ᾧ μνηστευθεῖσα παρθένος Μαρίαμ be not genuine, even in the connexion in which it appears in *S*, then all the authorities which contain it agree in error, and therefore they must have some common origin later than the autograph. In the case before us I must regretfully own that *S* and *k* agree in a common corruption. It becomes once more possible to speak of *the Western text* in the singular number. This is the real lesson of the variation in Matt i 16, and I do not see how to evade the difficulty, except on the supposition that Theodoret was mistaken and that the Genealogies had a place somewhere in the Diatessaron, perhaps as an Appendix. On that hypothesis the agreement of *k* and *S* would be regarded as one of the numerous cases where the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* deserted the true old-Antiochian Greek text to follow a Western reading embedded in Tatian's Harmony. But I must offer this rather as an excuse than as an explanation.

There still remain some pieces of evidence that must not be passed over in silence, although I am unable to regard them as contributing any new element to the solution of the problem.

(i) In both the Sinai MSS of the Palestinian Lectionary (Mrs Lewis's B and C) we read

...ܝܘܣܦ ܒܥܠܗ ܕܡܪܝܡ ܕܡܢܗ ܐܬܝܠܕ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ

Joseph the husband of Mary, him from whom was born Jesus.

The Vatican MS (A) has ܕܡܢܗ and ܕܡܢ, now changed into ܕܡܢܗ. No doubt the reading of the Sinai MSS is only a mistake for ܕܡܢܗ (i.e. *her from whom*), but its occurrence should warn us not to assume too hastily that later orthodox scribes might not blunder into statements that look heretical.

(ii) The Genealogy added at the end of the Borgian MS of the Arabic Diatessaron (Ciasca's B) contains no ancient element of text, as I have learnt through the kindness of my friend Dr Guidi. The Vatican MS (Ciasca's A) is a more interesting document, inasmuch as some of the kings' names come ultimately from a Greek and not a Syriac source, e.g. ارحبوام (= Ῥοβοάμ), اساف (= Ἀσάφ). In Matt i 16 we find

يعقوب ولد يوسف رجل مريم الذي منها ولد ايسوع المسيح

Jacob begat Joseph, who from her begat Jesus the Messiah.

It is from general considerations most unlikely that any peculiarity in this Arabic MS should be really old, unless the reading stood in the immediate Syriac original. Even in the Genealogy, although the spelling of some of the names shews a Greek influence, others like رعوث (i.e. *Ruth*) are clearly derived direct from the Syriac. Now syr.vg. has ܕܡܬܠܕ ܒܗ ܝܫܘܥ, and الذي منها ولد ايسوع is surely more likely to be a blundering translation of this (pointing وُلِد) than of a hypothetical ܕܡܬܝܠܕ. We have seen from the example of the codices of the Palestinian Lectionary that orthodox scribes do not always produce an orthodox reading. I doubt therefore if Ciasca's A brings us here back to anything but what is found in the Peshitta.

(iii) More important are the variations found in the *Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila*, edited by F. C. Conybeare (Oxford, 1898). In this Dialogue Matt i 16 is quoted three times. The third of these (p. 88) is obviously based on the common text, and is interesting only as an example of how loosely and inaccurately the writer quotes the N.T.: it runs *ἰακ. δὲ ἐγέν. τὸν ἰωσὴφ τὸν μνηστευσάμενον μαριάμ, ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη ὁ χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ*. The second quotation is in a rapid recapitulation of the genealogy (p. 76) and runs *ἰακὼβ δὲ τὸν ἰωσήφ, ᾧ μνηστευθεῖσα μαρία· ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη Ἰησ. ὁ λεγ. Χριστός*. This is chiefly interesting as affording an actual proof that the phrase 'husband of Mary' was liable to change. The first quotation (also on p. 76) is more striking. It is put into the mouth of the Jew, and to gain an idea of the context it is necessary to quote more fully.

The Christian says: "Yes,...from Abraham [Jesus] derives his flesh."

The Jew says: "How was he born? Tell me his genealogy."

The Christian says: "Thine own mouth hath declared it when reading the Old and New Testament, and dost thou not know this?"

The Jew says: "There is a genealogy in the Old Testament, and in the New there is one in *Matthew* (*ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ματθαία, sic*), and it runs thus, *Jacob begat Joseph the husband of Mary, from whom was born Jesus that is called Christ.* And [so] Joseph begat Jesus that is called Christ, about whom we are talking, it says he begat [him] from Mary."

The Greek is *ἰακὼβ...λεγόμενος* $\overline{\chi\sigma}$, *καὶ ἰωσὴφ ἐγέννησεν τὸν* $\overline{\iota\nu}$ *τ. λεγ. χ. περὶ οὗ νῦν ὁ λόγος, φησὶν ἐγέννησεν ἐκ τῆς μαρίας.*

I do not believe that *καὶ ἰωσὴφ ἐγέννησεν κ.τ.λ.* is meant to be a quotation; it is the inference of the Jew, who is represented as on the way to conversion. The use of *καὶ* is much the same as on p. 81, last line, where we read *μάρτυρα δὲ παριστῶμεν τὸν προφήτην ἡσαίαν λέγοντα, ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἕξει καὶ τέξεται υἱόν, καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ ἄνδρα οὐ γνώσεται*. Here the last seven words are evidently no quotation but the inference of the speaker. We may almost paraphrase this *καὶ* in English by 'well then.' The Jew quotes the Genealogy and then draws his inference, which is of course repudiated by the Christian disputant. It is the simple fact that the Genealogy, as it stands according to the ordinary text, is consistent with the statement *Ἰωσὴφ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν*, and it is only because of what comes afterwards in the following verses that we see that 'Joseph begat Jesus' was not the Evangelist's meaning. The Jew in the *Dialogue* had a perfect grammatical right to take the intentionally ambiguous language of Matt i 16 as he did; it is only by examining the context that we can confute him.

With this passage in the *Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila* we may finally compare a remarkable passage from the still unpublished Commentary of Barsalibi (on Matt i 18: *cf* Dudley Loftus, *Trans.* p. 33):—

ܗܘ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܝܠܕ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܢ ܡܪܝܡ ܐܡܗ ܕܝܫܘܥ

Transfiguration. At the Baptism according to Mk and Lk, the Voice said '*Thou art My Son.*' In Matt, according to the ordinary text, the Voice says '*This is My Son,*' as at the Transfiguration; and this reading is followed by the Diatessaron against the witness of the other Synoptic Gospels. The evidence is singularly full, including Ephr. *Rom.* vi 16 C and *Moesinger* 99, Marutha (see above, p. 156), and even the Arabic Diatessaron: all these have '*This is My Son*'[1]. But *S* and *C* here read '*Thou art My Son,*' in agreement with D *a* and Irenaeus *Haer.* iii 9, according to the Greek text as preserved in the very ancient fragments from Oxyrhynchus[2]. Here therefore *S* and *C* agree with the best extant Western texts in supporting a reading opposed by the Diatessaron.

I venture to think that the balance of internal evidence is in this case in favour of the reading 'Thou art My Son' attested by *S* and *C*. The general harmonistic tendencies of transcribers familiar with the Gospel text cannot be cited in favour of either reading, for the impulse to assimilate Matt iii 17 to Matt xvii 5 would be at least as strong as the impulse to assimilate it with Lk iii 22 and Mk i 11. But the same tendency which led Tatian to prefer the 'This is My Son' of his text of Matt to the 'Thou art My Son' of Mk and Lk would lead an over-orthodox scribe to change 'Thou art' into 'This is.' For 'This is My Son' is an announcement to the bystanders or to John the Baptist: it does not imply the act of Adoption, any more than the Voice at the Transfiguration implied it. But 'Thou art My Son' is addressed to Jesus Himself: we even find that most of the older Western texts, including D *a* and *S C* (but not Iren), add πρὸς αὐτόν after λέγουσα, and in any case the reference to Ps ii 7 could not be missed. For these reasons I prefer to think that the First Evangelist here followed his source Mk i 11 without making any alteration (unless indeed πρὸς αὐτόν itself be genuine), and that the true text of Matt iii 17 contained the words σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱός μου, not οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου.

v 4 ܢܬܚܕܘ 'shall be comforted' *S C* and syr.vg; the *Diatessaron* had ܢܬܚܕܘ ܠܗܘܢ (or ܢܬܚܕܝ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܥܘܬܐ ܠܗܘܢ) i.e. 'to them folk will make supplication,' if we may trust Aphraates 41: see *Introduction*, p. 181, note. The sense of this alternative rendering of παρακληθήσονται is the same as in Lk vi 24, xvi 25 (see pp. 109, 135 *f.*), but the verb there used is ܢܚ not ܐܬܚܕܝ.

In rendering the Syriac text of the Beatitudes into English we are met with the difficulty that ܕ, like the English 'that,' is used both for a conjunction and for the relative pronoun. Thus Matt v 4 may mean 'Happy is it for mourners who will be comforted,' as well as 'Happy is it for mourners because they will be comforted.' As a general rule the true English rendering of such passages in a version may be ascertained by referring to the original Greek, but here the question is complicated by the very strong probability that the original Aramaic saying corresponded in form and therefore in ambiguity to the Syriac before us.

[1] I do not include Ephr. *Rom.* v 545 A (see above, p. 116), as the context shews that the Transfiguration was in S. Ephraim's mind.

[2] See *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* iii 10 *f*, and the restoration of the fragments by Dr Armitage Robinson in the *Athenaeum* for Oct. 24, 1903. Note that Cod. Bobiensis (*k*) is not extant here.

v 13 ܡܬܚܫܟ ܐܬܚܫܟ *C*: a double rendering of *μωρανθῇ*, betraying the hand of the reviser, who was probably the same as added ܐܢ ܠܐ ܡܬܪܟ ܠܗ in v 18: see p. 217*f*. For ܐܬܚܫܟ as a rendering of *μωραίνεσθαι*, see Rom i 22.

v 22 The forensic conception of guilt in this verse is so genuinely Semitic and therefore alien to our phraseology that it is difficult to find a satisfactory translation. It is desirable to get a terminology which will fit Matt xii 41, 42 and Matt xx 18 as well as this verse. We distinguish between 'guilty' and 'sentenced': the Semitic idiom did not. Further there is a common error that 'judgement' in this verse and in Matt xii 41, 42, means the Last Judgement; this error was at any rate not shared by the Syriac-speaking commentators, as may be seen from Barsalibi on Matt xii 41. 'To stand up in judgement with' means little more than 'to be judged in comparison with': the Court and the penalty are unspecified. But this idiom has passed over into the Greek Gospel, and the *ἐν τῇ κρίσει* of Matt xii 41 is taken even by Grimm and Thayer to refer to the Last Day. On this see Wellhausen in GGN for 1895, *Heft* 1, p. 11.

v 34 On ܒܟܠܗ for *ὅλως*, see p. 59 and also Joh ix 34.

v 39 On ܣܦܩ, see p. 8 note. In S. Ephraim's Commentary (*Moes.* 65, 133) we find 'slap for slap' quoted almost as if it formed part of the text before him. The passage in his mind is evidently Exod xxi 25 where the Syriac has ܟܦܐ ܬܚܬ ܟܦܐ. The word ܟܦܐ means (1) 'the cheek'; (2) 'a slap on the cheek.' It is therefore curiously appropriate as an illustration of Matt v 39, and may possibly have had a place in the *Syriac* Diatessaron after 'eye for eye, tooth for tooth.' But the play upon words does not seem to be repeated in any form of Palestinian Aramaic, so that it can hardly have anything to do with the original form of the saying.

v 44 On the Diatessaron text in this passage, see pp. 110*f*.

vi 1 On ܕܠܡܐ, meaning 'else,' see p. 67.

vi 4 On ܒܟܝܟ for ܒܣܝܪ, see p. 47.

vi 7 On ܡܫܠܚ, see p. 81.

vi 11, 12 For the text of the Lord's Prayer according to the *Acts of Thomas*, see pp. 105*f*. The metrical Homily of Jacob of Serug on the Lord's Prayer is still unpublished: it is a work of some interest as shewing that the pre-vulgate text of the Prayer still to some extent survived in popular if not in liturgical use so late as the 6th century. I give the text from B.M. Add. 17157 (AD 565), with various readings from B.M. Add. 14515 (AD 893) and B.M. Add. 14584 (6th or 7th cent.). Jacob of Serug died AD 521 at the age of seventy.

The actual quotations in the following extract are distinguished in the translation by difference of type.

ܐܒܐ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ ܢܬܩܕܫ ܫܡܟ ܐܬܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܟ ܢܗܘܐ ܨܒܝܢܟ[a] ܐܝܟ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܐܦ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܠܚܡܐ ܕܣܝܢ ܗܒ ܠܢ ܝܘܡܢܐ ܘܫܒܘܩ ܠܢ ܚܘܒܝܢ ܕܝܠܢ ܐܦ ܚܢܢ ܫܒܩܢ ܠܟܠ ܚܝܒ ܠܢ ܘܠܐ ܬܥܠܢ ܠܢܣܝܘܢܐ ܐܠܐ ܦܨܢ ܡܢ ܒܝܫܐ[b] ܡܛܠ ܕܕܝܠܟ ܗܝ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܘܚܝܠܐ ܘܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ[c]

[a] ܕܐܦ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ 14515, ܐܝܟ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܐܦ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ 14584

[b] ܡܢ ܒܝܫܐ 14515 [c] ܐܡܝܢ 14515, ܡܛܠ ܕܕܝܠܟ ܗܝ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܐ 14584

[d] ܠ ܢܥܠ 14515 : ? *read* ܠܥܠܝܢ (i.e. *ta'ellain*, Nöld. § 190 c)

[e] ܐܠܐ 14515 [f] ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ 14515 : *for the last two lines* 14584 *has*

ܡ ܕܝܠܟ ܗܝ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܘܚܝܠܐ ܘܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܕܐ
ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ

The disciples asked that He should teach them to pray—And as He knew that well they asked Him, He did not restrain them—"Thus (quoth He) pray ye, when they are praying:—*Our Father in heaven, Thy name be hallowed* even as it is holy,—*Thy kingdom* also *come* to us from where it is,—*Thy will* also *be done in earth, as in heaven.*—*Give us the continual bread of the day* from Thy treasury,—*And forgive our debt*s and pardon our sins, *as we have forgiven,*—*And into temptation do not make us enter,* who are feeble,—*But deliver* thou *us from the Evil One,* for that Thy power is great.—*Because Thine is* the might, also *the kingdom,* also the authority and the principality *for ever, Amen.*

Thy kingdom] *pr.* 'and' 14515 Thy will] *pr.* 'and' 14515 Thy power] the power 14515
For the last two lines 14584 *has* 'Because Thine is the kingdom and the heroism—also the authority with the glory for ever and ever.'

Note that for τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον the Peshitta has ܠܚܡܐ ܕܣܝܢ ܗܒ ܠܢ ܝܘܡܢܐ *Give us the bread of our necessity to-day.*

vi 24 See p. 67.

vii 17, 18 See Note on Lk vi 45.

viii 4 On the omission of ܘ, or some similar word, before ܗܘ ܕܡܝ, see p. 75 *f.*

viii 5 For Euseb. *Theoph.* iv 2, see p. 170.

viii 16 On the sign ⩽ in *C*, see p. 13 and also p. 29.

x 2–4 The variations in the names and the order of the Twelve Apostles are somewhat complicated and confusing, but for the consideration of the sources which have contributed to mould the text of Matt x 2–4 in *S* several of the lists may be left out of account. In the first place a tabulation of all the lists in our various authorities brings out at once the curious and noteworthy fact that neither the list in Mk nor the list in Acts has exercised any influence. We may also neglect the lists in the Arabic Diatessaron and in Cod. Fuldensis, for both of these have been assimilated to the list in Lk vi 14–16. The Syriac list published by Goussen from Cod. Sachau 311 (see *Harris* 101), which professes to give the Diatessaron list according to Isho'dad, has on the other hand every sign of genuineness. It is obviously a harmonised list, such as the text of the Diatessaron might be expected to present, and at the same time it contains clear points of resemblance with the text of *S* in Matt x 2–4.

All the lists in Matt and Lk agree in the first six names and end with Iscariot. It is therefore only necessary to take the remaining five names. I have not noted the inclusion or exclusion of titles, except to point out that all three Syriac lists add 'the Publican' to Matthew's name, thereby clearly shewing on which Gospel the list is primarily based.

(In the Table, *Ravenna* stands for the order attested by the 5th century mosaics in the great Baptistery at Ravenna (*Battistero degli Ortodossi*), in which the Eleven and S. Paul stand round a circle thus :—

PAVLVS PETRVS
THOMAS ANDREAS
MATTHEVS IACOBVS ZEBEDEI
IACOBVS ALFEI IOHANNIS
SIMON CANANEVS FILIPPVS
IVDAS ZELOTES BARTOLOMEVS

The same set of mosaics attest the 'Western' order of the Gospels, *Matt Ioh Lc Mc.*)

ℵB lat.vg	Thos.	Matth.	James Alph.	Thaddaeus	Simon Canan.
D *k*	Thos.	Matth.	James Alph.	Lebbaeus	Simon Canan.
Isho'dad	Thos.	Matth.	James Alph. Lebbaea	Simon Canan.	Jude s. of James
Acts of Thomas	Thos.	Matth.	James Alph.	Simon Canan.	Jude s. of James
S	Thos.	Matth.	James Alph.	Simon Canan.	Jude s. of James

Ravenna	Thos.	Matth.	James Alph.	Simon Canan.	Jude Zealot
g h gat (*mm*)	Thos.	Matth.	James Alph.	Jude Zealot	Simon Canan.
a b q	Matth.	James Alph.	Jude Zealot	Thomas	Simon Canan.
Luke (*and* Diat.arab *and* Cod. Fuld)	Matth.	Thos.	James Alph.	Simon Zealot	Jude of James

From the above Table we see at once that the list in the *Acts of Thomas* follows that in *S*, both where it agrees with the Diatessaron (as in introducing Jude son of James from S. Luke after Simon and in omitting Thaddaeus), and also where it differs from the Diatessaron (as in the use of the ordinary name of James son of Alphaeus). The name 'James Lebbaeus son of Alphaeus' appears to shew the influence of the ancient Western text now represented by D and *k*, which put 'Lebbaeus' instead of Thaddaeus, and not the later European Western text which put 'Judas Zelotes' instead of Thaddaeus.

x 5 On the Gospel references in Aphraates 41, 42, see pp. 111, 197.

x 32 'and before his angels.' This addition is also found in the verse as quoted in the *Acts of Guria and Shamona* (ed. by Rahmani, Rome, 1899, p. 1) and the Syriac text is confirmed by the Metaphrast. These *Acts* are certainly genuine, but our present knowledge of them rests on a much later MS than that of the companion *Acts of Habbib*, so that it is not always safe to use them for minute textual points.

x 38 On Syriac renderings for 'cross,' see on Mk ix 12, Lk xxiv 7.

xi 1 On ܕ[ܕ] ܟܬܒ, see p. 68.

xi 2 'despatched...sent *word*': *cf* Matt xxvii 19, Lk vii 6, and *Acts of Thomas* 187[5] ...ܫܕܪ ܠܗ ܠܝܘܕܐ ܘܫܕܪ ܠܗ ܡܠܬܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܕܐܡܪ, i.e. 'The king despatched messengers unto Judas and sent *word* to him thus (saying)...'

On ܐܬܬܫܕܪ for ܐܬܫܕܪ, see p. 46.

xi 5 For the reading of *S*, see p. 238*f*. The reading of *C* ܡܬܚܕܝܢ *sustained* must be a mere error for ܡܒܫܪܝܢ *evangelized*, as the Greek is εὐαγγελίζονται, but like other scribal errors or conjectural emendations in Syriac Biblical texts it makes singularly good sense. Compare the Note on Lk ii 30.

xi 21, 22 ܒܬܣܝ for ܒܝܬ must be a mere blunder of transcription in 1893: see vol. i, p. 543.

xii 9 For the construction, see pp. 69, 70.

xii 24 On the spelling of the word 'Beelzebub,' see p. 204.

xii 40 The occurrence of ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ in Aphraates 222 shews that the phrase actually had a place in Syriac ecclesiastical terminology, but it is difficult to imagine in what sense it was understood. The Syriac for *uir* is ܓܒܪܐ; but *homo* is ܐܢܫ (a word also written ܐܢܫܐ), the plural being ܐܢܫܐ or ܐܢܫܝܢ. The word ܐܢܫ by itself is used for 'some folk,' and similarly ܐܝܢܫ is also used. The בר אנש of Dan vii 13 is translated in the Peshitta by ܒܪ ܐܝܢܫ, and the rendering is attested by Aphraates and other early writers. ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ does not occur in Syriac, except as a rendering of the Gospel phrase ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου—in fact, it exactly corresponds to the English rendering 'Son of Man,' which is in itself meaningless. You cannot say in English 'Son of Jew' or 'Son of Roman.'

But ܓܒܪܐ is also used for 'individual,' as in Matt x 36, where ܒܐܝܠܝ ܕܒܝܬܗ ܓܒܪܐ corresponds to ἐχθροὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οἱ οἰκιακοὶ αὐτοῦ. Hence some early translator, probably the earliest of all, translated ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου by ܒܪ ܓܒܪܐ. We can only suppose that the meaning of the Greek was incomprehensible to him, that he was in possession of no traditional explanation of the title, and that under the circumstances he thought it best to give what he considered a literal rendering.

It is not surprising that ܒܪ ܓܒܪܐ did not find favour, and now it has almost entirely disappeared, the meaningless but inoffensive ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ taking its place. ܒܪ ܓܒܪܐ is now only found in Edessene Syriac in the passages mentioned in vol. i, p. 67, *viz.* Matt xii 40 *A*, Mk viii 38 *S*, Lk vii 34 *S C*, Lk ix 26 *C* (*S* illegible), Lk xxii 48 *C* (for *S*, see the Note on the passage), Joh xiii 31 *S*. But curiously enough, it is quite common in the Christian Palestinian texts.

That the expression ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ seemed to Syriac ears to have a meaning not unlike ܒܪ ܐܢܫ appears from a comment of Ephraim on Lk v 21 (*Lamy* i 191, from the great *Homily on our Lord*):—

ܗܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܥܕܢ ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ ܗܘ ܒܝܬ ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ ܗܘ ܐܬܓܠܝ ܠܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܚܐ ܠܟܠ ܚܛܗܐ ܕܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܗܘ ܐܬܓܠܝ ܠܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܚܐ ܠܟܠ ܚܛܗܐ.

This is the marvel, that while our Lord was calling Himself son of Man there, His enemies without perceiving it had made Him God the Forgiver of sins.

xii 48 On ܕܢܫ ܠܗ ܠܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܚܛܗ, the grammatically curious reading of *S*, see pp. 42, 58.

xiii 5 On ܐܬܝܒܫ, see p. 83.

xiii 6 ܕܠܫ is fem.; with what does it agree? I rather incline now to suppose that my translation is wrong and that the sun is not said to shine on the 'land' (ܐܪܥܐ fem. understood), but upon the young plant. Both *S* and *C* are so paraphrastical at this point that the Greek gives very little help. At the beginning of *ver.* 5 they agree in having the masc. sing. for the seed which fell on the rock. Here they agree in having fem. sing. for that upon which the sun shone. But all the other

verbs in *vv.* 5–8[a] are masc. sing. in *S* and fem. sing. in *C*. Thus both MSS are inconsistent with themselves. ܙܪܥ̈ܝ in *C* (*vv.* 7[a], 8[a]) is inconsistent with ܙܪܥ̈ (*v.* 5[a]), and ܢܒܬ here in *S* is inconsistent with ܫܓܪ and ܐܬ, unless the forced construction indicated in my translation be adopted. Under these circumstances is it not better to suppose that the translator used masc. for the seeds, fem. for the young plants? In the first case ܙܪܥ is understood, in the second an impersonal fem. sing. (*Nöldeke* § 274). In *S* the verbs were all corrected to agree with ܙܪܥ̈ in *ver.* 5[a], but ܢܒܬ was overlooked. In *C* the ܙܪܥ at the beginnings of *vv.* 7 and 8 were made fem., as well as [ܒ]ܐܬܝܗ in *ver.* 8, under the influence of the fem. verbs in *ver.* 6.

ܒܐܬܝܗ in *ver.* 8 might grammatically be taken to refer to the ܙܪܥ ܒܪܐ, but both in *S* and in Aphraates 301[6] it is referred to the seed sown in the earth.

xiii 35 On the relation of the text of *S* and *C* to the Peshitta rendering of Ps lxxvii 2, see p. 204.

xiii 48 ܛܒ ܛܒ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ. These words correspond to συνέλεξαν τὰ καλὰ εἰς ἄγγη (or εἰς ἀγγεῖα) in the Greek: see p. 57. On the construction my friend Prof. Kennett writes to me: "I am inclined to think that the repetition is due to a semi-adverbial, or perhaps one should say predicative, use, *viz.* 'they chose out fishes as good'."

In any case the doubled ܛܒ is not superlative in meaning and has nothing to do with the Old Latin use of *optimus* in this passage, though doubtless the latter is the cause why D[gr] reads τὰ κάλλιστα for τὰ καλά, *meliora* in *d* being a further attempt to produce an equivalent for D[gr].

xiv 22 ܐܠܙܢ. Compare p. 78.

xiv 27 ܐܬܪܥ *S*. The equivalent for θάρσει, θαρσεῖτε, in syr.vg, wherever it occurs in the Gospels, is ܬܠܝܬܝܐ or ܐܬܠܝܬܝܐ, but this uniformity does not appear to be primitive. ܬܠܝܬܝܐ is never used either by *S* or *C*. In Matt xiv 27 *C* has ܐܠܫܝܐ (like syr.vg in Acts xxiii 11), and in the other passages it is not extant. The usual rendering in *S*, found in Matt ix 2, Mk x 49, Joh xvi 33, is 'Fear not,' the primitive Semitic greeting, of which θάρσει is one of the regular LXX equivalents. But here ܠܐ ܬܫܠܡ is unsuitable, because μὴ φοβεῖσθε almost immediately follows θαρσεῖτε, and so we find ܐܬܪܥ in *S*, an adaptation of the Greek word not elsewhere found in Syriac.

In Matt vi 26, Lk xii 24, ܙܢܐܬ occurs in *C* and syr.vg in its ordinary sense of τρέφει, but *S* substitutes ܡܙܘܢ for it in Lk and in Matt it is not extant.

xiv 32 For the construction, see pp. 69, 70. The verb ܫܟܐ 'to calm down' (e.g. of a fever), is the opposite of ܥ and ܥܒܪ.

xiv 36 On ܐܪܓܘܢ, lit. '*blue-purple*,' see p. 84.

xv 2 ܕܣܒܝ ܕܡܪܢ means 'the commandments of our greybeards,' not 'of *the* greybeards.' Similarly in Lk xxiv 20 *C* ܘܩܫܝܫ ܕܡܪܢ means 'the chief priests and our elders,' i.e. the word is to be read with the suffix of the 1st pers. plur. I mention this only because both Cureton and Mrs Lewis (in *Some Pages*) have translated the word as if it were the 'plur. absolute,' without a suffix. Similarly in the Acts (e.g. i 15) ܓܒܪܐ ܐܚܝܢ, corresponding to ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, should be pointed with a suffix, so as to make 'O men, our brethren[1].'

xv 26 For the construction of ܐܝܬ in *S*, see p. 64 and 65 *note*.

xvi 1 If *S* really has ܕܡܫܬ, and not ܕܡܫܬܐ as *C*, the construction of the participle will be parallel to that in Lk xviii 11 *S*, on which see p. 64.

xvi 18 On the 'Gate-bars of Sheol,' see pp. 119, 156, 170.

xvii 20 For the construction of *S*, see p. 74.

xvii 26, 27 The remarkable addition quoted in the foot-notes from Moesinger and the Arabic obviously belongs to the text of the Diatessaron. It is found in the Greek minuscule 713.

In the Acts of Thomas (*Wright* 312) our Lord is called

ܡܫܩܠ ܟܣܐ ܘܓܘܠܓܠܬܐ ܠܢ ܘܠܗ ܘܠܡܫܝܚܐ

Giver of toll and head-money for us and for Himself,

or, as the Sinai Fragments read in agreement with the ancient Greek translation (*Bonnet*, p. 250) ܘܠܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܠܬܠܡܝܕܘܗܝ *for Himself and for His disciples.* This is obviously an allusion to this passage of S. Matthew's Gospel, but it affords no evidence as to the reading in xvii 26.

xviii 8 For the construction of *S* in this verse, see p. 77 and p. 70.

xviii 10 For Aphraates 43, see p. 183 *f.*

xviii 17 The use of ܟܢܘܫܬܐ here by *S* to render ἐκκλησία is in every way remarkable. The Syriac for 'Church' is ܥܕܬܐ and for 'Synagogue' ܟܢܘܫܬܐ. The words are used just as in English, so that in *Theophania* iv 11, where Eusebius makes a point of the foreknowledge of Christ in calling the Christian assemblies 'Churches' and not 'Synagogues,' the Syriac translator is able to employ the regular antithesis between ܥܕܬܐ and ܟܢܘܫܬܐ. Both words mean by derivation 'assemblies,' and both are probably derived from Jewish terminology, but by *usage* ܥܕܬܐ is appropriated to Christian and ܟܢܘܫܬܐ to Jewish assemblies. This is the case even in

[1] The only Peshitta edition which here has the correct vocalisation ܟܼܢܼܫܼܬܼܡ is De Sacy's Syriac and Carshuni N.T. (Paris 1824), but Erpenius's *Arabic* has يا ايها الرجال اخوتنا.

Acts vii 38, where 'the Church in the wilderness' (*τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ*) becomes in Syriac ܟܢܘܫܬܐ ܕܒܡܕܒܪܐ, i.e. 'the *Synagogue* in the wilderness.'

The rendering of *S* does not imply a various reading in the Greek of this verse, any more than in the case of Acts vii 38 syr.vg. We must therefore suppose that the translator understood our Lord to mean by *ἐκκλησία* not Holy Church, but some less august assembly appropriate to the social organisation of the day (*cf* Matt v 22), a piece of exegesis as surprising as it is refreshing. It is a pity that *S* is not extant for Matt xvi 18.

xviii 20 On the reading of *S*, see p. 236.

xviii 22 On ܠ ܥܕܕ ܥܕܕ ܥܕܕ ܥܕܕ (see p. 60), Prof. Kennett remarks: "The Syriac expresses addition and multiplication by much the same words, and likewise subtraction and division. I should take the reduplicated ܥܕܕ as an adverbial use, signifying 'seven times,' and understand the phrase to mean 'add to seventy (its like) seven times.'"

xix 11 On ܒܡ for ܒܡ, see p. 53 *f*.

xix 28 Alluding to this passage *A* 280 has

ܗܘ ܟܝ ܕܗܟܝܠ (A^a ܟܝܟܐ ܕܝܩܪܐ) ܟܝܟܐ ܕܡܫܟܚ ܒܝܘܡ ܕܕܝܢܐ ܗܘ ܟܝ ܕܟܝ ܕܬܪܥ ܟܝ ܕܡܫܟܚ ܒܝܘܡ ܕܕܝܢܐ.

There is prepared the Throne of Royalty (A^a *has* 'of Greatness'), *and judgement is made ready in the Judgement-place; for the righteous seats are arranged, who judge the wicked in the day of Judgement.*

This agrees with *C* (and syr.vg) in reserving the transliteration of the Greek *θρόνος* for the Throne of the Son of Man: *S* on the other hand uses the Syriac ܟܘܪܣܝ both for the great Throne and the seats of the Apostles. In Matt xxv 31, where ܒܝܘܡ occurs again both in Aphraates 289 and in syr.vg, *S* is not extant.

xx 28 *fin.* ܐܡܪܬ...ܐܬܝܬ...ܟܝܟ...ܐܡ ܠܟ. For the construction, see pp. 71, 72, where it is pointed out that the apodosis may be placed at either of the last three words, i.e. the sentence may be translated

either "But if...there will come...and [he] will say...and thou shalt have..."
or "But if...and there come...then [he] will say...and thou shalt have..."
or "But if...and there come...and [he] say...then thou shalt have...."

The second of these alternatives is that which is actually found in D and the Latins, which support *ἐρεῖ* not *καὶ ἐρεῖ*. But the fact that *C* ends the saying by 'thou shalt have more glory in the eyes of the guests' (i.e. Lk xiv 10^b) instead of *καὶ ἔσται σοι τοῦτο χρήσιμον* shews that the Syriac is by no means a literal rendering of the Greek, and passages such as Matt xii 44, 45 (= Lk xi 25, 26) make it clear that the Syriac often

places the apodosis differently. I have therefore not scrupled to put the apodosis in my translation at the last clause. As a matter of fact the Greek MS Φ (*Cod. Beratinus*) reads ἐὰν δὲ...ἐπέλθῃ...ἐρεῖ...καὶ ἔσται, putting the apodosis at ἐπέλθῃ, and leaving ἐρεῖ κ.τ.λ. to follow as a detached sentence.

xxi 3 On the rendering, see pp. 121 *ff.*

xxi 9 This passage as given in *C* consists of Matt xxi 9 + Joh xii (12^a,) 13^b + Lk xix 37^b. In Diat^{ar} xxxix 31–35 we read:—"Lk xix 37 And when he drew near his descent of the Mount of Olives, all the disciples began to rejoice and praise God with a loud voice for all the mighty works which they had seen, saying (Mk xi 9) 'Glory in the highest, Matt xxi 9 Glory to the son of David, blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord, Mk xi 10 and blessed is the kingdom which cometh, *even* our father David's: Lk xix 38^b peace in heaven and glory in the highest.' Joh xii 12 And a great multitude..... 13...went forth to meet him."

xxi 21 On the construction of *S*, see p. 72.

xxi 31, 32 On the reading of *S*, see pp. 239 *f.* Throughout this complicated series of variations *S* sides with Codex Bezae. The Old Latin MSS *a b ff h r*, as well as *c* and *e*, have *quod non credidistis* for τοῦ πιστεῦσαι in *ver.* 32.

xxi 41 For Ephr. *Lamy* i 253, see p. 123 *f.*

xxii 2 For the references in Aphraates, see p. 101 *f.*

xxii 13 For the use of ܚܕ in this passage, see pp. 102, 124 *f.*, 170.

xxii 23, 28 On ܟܚܫ ܫܘ, see p. 82.

xxiii 13 The rendering of *S*, i.e. '*ye hold the key of the kingdom*,' is obviously a (wrong) interpretation of ܟܚܙܩ ܡܦܬܚܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܟܣܪܝܢ. The word ܟܣܪ means either 'to hold' or 'to shut,' the Greek being ὅτι κλείετε. The phrase quoted in *Moesinger* 211 is 'Woe to you, lawyers, for ye hide the key': this suggests that the Diatessaron did not speak of the scribes or lawyers as 'holding the keys,' but as having 'shut the doors.' The passages from Aphraates which speak of 'holding the keys' may therefore be conjectured to have been derived direct from the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe.*

xxiii 23 On ܟܡܥܪ̈ܡ, see p. 81. On the reading implied by the Syriac in the latter half of this verse, see p. 252 *f.*

xxiv 1 The construction adopted in the text implies the use of a historic present, which is somewhat rare in Syriac, though several instances occur in *S* (including Matt xx 11): see p. 63. But it is not unlikely that what is intended is "And when

Jesus went forth..., his disciples drew near, shewing him (i.e. *to shew*) the building.' For ...ܐܒܢ ܕ..., see pp. 69, 70; for ...ܠܡܚܙ ܐܒܢ ܕ..., see p. 64 and 65 note: on this view the construction of Matt xxiv 1 affords a parallel to that of *S* in Matt xv 26.

xxv 1 On the reading, see p. 247.

xxvi 47 For the construction, see p. 69.

xxvi 50 The reading of S^{ed} is correct (see vol. i, p. 544), i.e. *S* really has ܐܝܟ ܕ ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܟ for ἐφ' ὃ πάρει, a rendering of the Greek which, like ܐܝܟ ܕ ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܡܐ in syr.vg, seems to leave an *anacoluthon*. Barsalibi understands the saying to mean "Because thou hast come [I call thee not my disciple, but] my associate [i.e. my adversary]," but this is explanatory paraphrase not a translation of the Syriac, which is as obscure as the Greek of which it is a word-for-word rendering.

xxvi 60 As explained in vol. i, p. 544, *S* seems to read ܠܐ ܫܪܝ ܠܗ ܕܫܪܪܐ, i.e. 'they could not *take the truth*.' Compare D *a ff*^{2} *h*, which attest οὐχ εὗρον τὸ ἐξῆς.

xxvii 16, 17 'Jesus bar Abba.' The Greek text of these verses is [16] εἶχον δὲ τότε δέσμιον ἐπίσημον λεγόμενον [Ἰησοῦν] Βαραββᾶν. [17] συνηγμένων οὖν αὐτῶν εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Πειλᾶτος· τίνα θέλετε ἀπολύσω ὑμῖν [Ἰησοῦν τὸν] Βαραββᾶν ἢ Ἰησοῦν τὸν λεγόμενον Χριστόν;

The bracketed words are omitted by all authorities except syr.*S* with 1*–118–209* arm syr.pal^{lect} and some *marginalia*: also B and Orig$^{1, 316}$ have τὸν before Βαραββᾶν, but without Ἰησοῦν in either place.

Furthermore 1*–118–209 add τῶν δύο to ἀπολύσω ὑμῖν, while other authorities, including Origen arm and syr.pal^{lect} prefix τῶν δύο (or ἀπὸ τῶν δύο) to ἀπολύσω ὑμῖν. This addition seems to be derived from *ver.* 21 and is not countenanced by syr.*S*.

The main object of this Note is to point out the reasons why the reading of syr.*S* should be adopted as the original text of Matt xxvii 16, 17, on the ground of transcriptional probability, textual authority, and internal appropriateness.

As regards transcriptional probability there can be no doubt. There is little likelihood that the various reading originated in a mere scribal error, for no suggestion yet made has explained the presence of τὸν in *ver.* 17 between Ἰησοῦν and Βαραββᾶν on the hypothesis of a mere accidental reduplication of letters, and this τὸν is an integral part of the longer reading. If both the prisoners in Pilate's hand bore the name *Jesus*, it is natural that he should distinguish them, one as τὸν B., the other as τὸν λεγόμενον X. Moreover the ordinary reading has in it nothing to induce change, while the fact that nearly all the supporters of 'Jesus bar Abba' have had the name erased is in itself enough to shew that it was only too likely to provoke alteration.

Westcott and Hort rejected the reading 'Jesus bar Abba' very largely on the ground of authority. "It is against all analogy," they say (*Notes*, p. 20), "that a true reading should be preserved in no better Greek MS than the common original of 1–118–209, and in none of the more ancient versions." But this is no longer an accurate presentation of

the textual evidence. The definite statement of Barsalibi and Bar Bahlul as to the reading of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* (see above, p. 178) has now been confirmed by the direct evidence of *S*. Thus the Old Syriac is on the side of the reading rejected by Westcott and Hort. D and the Latins are, as a matter of fact, for the ordinary reading and their evidence shews us why no evidence for it comes from our Diatessaron texts: right or wrong, the omission here of the name 'Jesus' is attested by the Western texts, among which must be counted Tatian's Harmony. On the other hand, the presence of τὸν before Βαραββᾶν in B and in Origen shews the neutrality of compromise (see above, p. 233*f*.). The word τὸν is an integral part of the reading 'Jesus bar Abba,' and its presence in B tells us that B is descended from a MS which once had had the longer reading, but from which Ἰησοῦν had been intentionally deleted. The same is almost certainly true of Origen's MS, though here his own comment suggests that he cut the name out himself on considerations which seemed to him to commend themselves on internal grounds, though the omission was not supported by most of the MSS known to him. He says *In multis exemplaribus non continetur quod Barabbas etiam Iesus dicebatur et forsitan recte, ut ne nomen Iesu conueniat alicui iniquorum. In tanta enim multitudine scripturarum neminem scimus Iesum peccatorem.....Et puto quod in haeresibus tale aliquid superadditum est.*

As regards internal evidence, we may consider the reading in the light of the general Synoptic problem and from the point of view of style. It has always been conceded that calling Barabbas 'Jesus' gave point to *vv.* 16, 17, but it was held that this could not be the true reading because the antithesis in *vv.* 20 and 26 is between τὸν Βαραββᾶν and τὸν Ἰησοῦν. Is not this to ignore the fact that the First Gospel is, in the Passion at least, a secondary document based on S. Mark with additions inserted here and there? S. Mark knows nothing of the name Jesus Barabbas, consequently in Matt xxvii 26 we read ἀπέλυσεν αὐτοῖς τὸν Βαραββᾶν, τὸν δὲ Ἰησοῦν...παρέδωκεν, in agreement with Mk xv 15. But it is in accordance with the first Evangelist's practice occasionally to insert names where none were given by his source. The obvious instances are the introduction of the name Matthew for Levi the publican (Matt ix 9), and the name Caiaphas for the High Priest (Matt xxvi 3, 57). If the Evangelist really got the name 'Jesus Barabbas' from an independent source, it may very well have been the source which furnished him with the story of the dream of Pilate's wife, an episode inserted by him into the Marcan narrative only two verses away from the passage we are considering (Matt xxvii 19). As for the antithesis between τὸν Βαραββᾶν and τὸν Ἰησοῦν in *vv.* 20, 26, it is not surprising that to the Christian narrator the antithesis should be between 'Barabbas' and 'Jesus': the point of the antithesis in *ver.* 17, between 'Jesus Barabbas' and 'Jesus called Christ,' is that it is placed in the mouth of Pilate. Pilate asks in fact 'Which of these two Jews with very similar names do you want me to let go?' This is an appropriate remark for the Roman Governor, but it would not be used by the Evangelist in his own person.

It only remains to add that ישוע בר אבא 'Jesus bar Abba' is a perfectly appropriate name for a Jew living in the 1st cent. AD. Several persons mentioned in the Talmud have the name Joshua or Jesus, and several are called Bar Abba after the name of their father. For instance, חייא בר אבא is cited in Talm. B. *Berachoth* iv 3, etc.

xxvii 43 For ܥܡ ܗܘ ܕܚܝܠ ܥܡ I conjecture the true reading of *S* to be ܥܡ ܗܘ ܕܚܝܠ ܥܡ ܐܠܗܐ: see vol. i, p. 544, vol. ii, p. 76. The photograph of *S* is here unfortunately blurred.

xxvii 50 In the *Martyrdom of Habbib* (ASD 84) we read: "they brought faggots and set them in order and placed them on all sides of him, and when the fire burnt up and the flames ascended fiercely they called out to him 'Open thy mouth.' And the moment he opened his mouth ܡܫܕܪ ܚܡܐ ܢܦܫܗ his soul had mounted up."

The Peshitta has here ܡܫܕܐ ܪܘܚܐ, a literal translation of ἀφῆκεν τὸ πνεῦμα. The idea underlying the story of Habbib and the ܡܫܕܐ ܢܦܫܗ of *S* in this passage seems to be that touched upon in Eccl iii 21, xii 7.

xxviii 19 In the Commentary on the Diatessaron (*Moesinger* 226), in the middle of comments on the promise of the Paraclete (Joh xvi 7) Ephraim observes: "And that he saith 'Go ye into all the world, and baptize them in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Spirit.' And he said not 'In the Name of the Father and in the Name of the Son and in the Name of the Spirit' that he might make it manifest that They are One Nature, who in one Name there named Three Persons."

The last clause is rather confused, but manifestly the evidence of Ephraim confirms that of Addai 20 (quoted in vol. i, pp. 172, 173), and that the Diatessaron attests the ordinary text of Matt xxviii 19. The evidence of the Syriac *Theophania* (see above, pp. 171, 172) seems to indicate that the ordinary text was also generally current in the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*.

i 13 ܬܡܢ 'there.' On the reading, see p. 248.

i 41 On the reading, see p. 192*f.*

ii 27 'created.' On the rendering, see p. 197.

iii 17 ܒܪ ܓܪܓܝ is the consonantal spelling of the Syriac transliteration of 'Boanerges,' both in *S* and in syr.vg. How ܓܪܓܝ was intended to be vocalised it is impossible to say with certainty. It has no meaning in Syriac; the Nestorian pronunciation is *Raγsh* (with final *y* mute)[1], but the Jacobite is *R'γesh*. At the same time it is hardly likely that a *y* would be added at the end, which was neither intended to be pronounced nor represented a letter in the Greek.

It is, I venture to think, conceivable that the Syriac translator connected ΒΟΑΝΗΡΓΕϹ (or ΒΑΝΗΡΕΓΕϹ) with ܪܓܫܐ as used in 1 Kings xviii 41 by the Peshitta, where ܩܠ ܪܓܫܐ ܕܡܛܪܐ stands for the 'sound of abundance of rain.' ܓܪܓܝ, on this supposition, may have been intended to be pronounced *R'γushai*, the theoretical 'absolute' of ܪܓܫܐ (*Duval*, §253*a*): *cf* ܩܠ ܕܪܓܫܐ Matt xxvii 8 *S*. In making this suggestion as to the origin of the Syriac transliteration, nothing is assumed as to the real meaning of the word or the spelling originally used by the Evangelist.

iv 11 On the form ܐܬܝܗܒ for ܐܬܝܗܒ, see pp. 53*f.* The reference to Dan vii 14 should be deleted from the foot-note to vol. i, p. 182; it is explained in vol. ii, p. 54, that ܐܬܝܗܒ is not really a passive form but a contracted participle.

iv 17 The reading of *S* is certainly ܒܗ (as in Matt xiii 21), but here as elsewhere there is no diacritic point to distinguish the fem. *bâh* from the masc. *beh*. It is evident however from the pointing of *C* in Lk viii 13 that *bâh* is intended here. The shallow folk receive the Word but have no root in it—a curious inversion of the figure of the Parable, because the Word is what is sown, not the soil.

v 8 ܡܢ ܒܥܠܐ ܕܝܢܐ ܕܡ is the reading of *S*, making the false concord of a masculine verb with a feminine adjective. In the parallel passage Lk viii 29 both *S* and *C* have ܡܢ ܒܥܠܐ ܕܝܢܐ ܗܘ, in the masc. It is of course possible that in that verse ܕܝܢܐ has replaced an original ܕܝܘܟܪܢ and that in Mk v 8 ܕܡ is a mere slip for ܕܡܛ, but elsewhere in the Gospels ܕܝܢܐ is so generally feminine that it is worth while to call attention to the exceptions.

[1] Mr Gwilliam gives ܓܪܓܝ (i.e. *Raγshî*) as the reading of the Nestorian Massoretic MS, but the dot under the ܫ may be only a sign of interpunction.

vi 49[a] ܫܡܥܘܢ is probably a mere blunder of transcription for ܫܡܥܘܢ as suggested on p. 55.

vi 49[b] The use of ܫܐܕܐ 'devil' as an equivalent for *φάντασμα* has a curious echo in the famous saying of our Lord quoted by Ignatius and taken according to Jerome from the 'Nazarene' Gospel *ἴδετε ὅτι οὐκ εἰμὶ δαιμόνιον ἀσώματον*. It is obvious that the saying goes back to a Semitic origin and that the original word corresponding to *δαιμόνιον* was שֵׁד. The same may be said of *πνεῦμα* in Lk xxiv 39: in fact all three Greek words, *πνεῦμα*, *δαιμόνιον*, *φάντασμα*, exactly represent our popular use of 'ghost' for a disembodied but more or less visible spirit.

In Mk vi 49 and Matt xiv 26, however, the Peshitta rejects this popular usage of *φάντασμα* in favour of the etymologically correct signification, i.e. the 'appearance' of something not actually there. No doubt it seemed an offence, both here and in Lk xxiv 39, to use ܫܐܕܐ of our Lord.

vii 4 The abruptness of *ἀπ' ἀγορᾶς ἐὰν μὴ βαπτίσωνται οὐκ ἐσθίουσιν* invites paraphrase and addition. The usual interpretation, adopted even by the English Bible, is '*when they come* from the market-place, except they wash themselves, they eat not.' This is followed by D 472 and the Old Latin, together with the Armenian; it is also implied by *S* and the Peshitta, for ܢܬܒܨܡ has only a middle or passive sense. On the other hand, the Arabic Diatessaron (cap. xx 20) has 'they used not to eat what is sold from the market, except they washed it.'

The natural inference is that the Arabic Diatessaron here preserves the independent interpretation or paraphrase of Tatian, but closer investigation will shew that this view is hardly tenable. In the first place the Armenian evidence raises a presumption that the usual view of the construction was that current on Syriac-speaking ground in early times. What is more cogent still is the fact that the interpretation found in the Arabic Diatessaron is that found in all the Arabic Gospel-texts of the middle ages, e.g. in Erpenius, in Lagarde, and even in De Sacy's bilingual Syro-Carshunic edition (Paris, 1824). From the Arabic, no doubt, it has found its way into Aethiopic, in strict accordance with Guidi's theory.

The source of this Arabic interpretation of the passage may have been the Egyptian versions, for the Bohairic has 'if they do not wash them from the market, they do not eat,' and the Sahidic 'but what is from the market, except they sprinkle them, they do not eat.' In these sentences the word 'them' may refer either to what is brought from the market or the 'hands' mentioned in the preceding verse. In any case the interpretation adopted in the Arabic Diatessaron was the natural one for a mediaeval Arabic writer to adopt, and until some Syriac evidence appears to confirm it, there is no reason why we should imagine it to have had any real connexion with Tatian or his Harmony.

vii 19 ܕܒܫܐ ܡܠܚ. I have marked the end of this verse in my translation as possibly corrupt, but perhaps there is no mistake. The common word for 'meat' or 'food' is ܡܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ. The word here used (ܒܫܐ) cannot be the absolute of ܡܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ, because ܒܫܐ is fem. and ܡܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ, like ܠܚܡ, is masc. Besides, after ܡܠܚ the absolute state would hardly be used. I find, however, that the much rarer masc. word ܒܫܐ, which stands for *βρῶσις* in Rom xiv 17, is actually used in

the sing. for *βρώματα* in Heb ix 10. It is probably therefore intended here. In any case it is clear that the Old Syriac did not read *καθαρίζων*, though it is not easy to see how a passive meaning can be extracted from any of the recorded variants.

vii 26 ܐܪܡܝܬܐ 'widow' is of course a Syriac miswriting of ܐܪܡܝܐ 'Gentile.' ܐܪܡܝܐ is literally 'Aramaean,' but the word is regularly used for 'Gentile' or 'Heathen,' as opposed to 'Jew.' Thus in Rom i 14 Ἕλλησίν *τε καὶ βαρβάροις* is rendered ܘܠܝܘܢܝܐ ܘܠܒܪܒܪܝ (*lit.* 'Ionians and Barbarians'), but in Rom i 16 Ἰουδαίῳ *τε καὶ* Ἕλληνι is rendered ܠܝܗܘܕܝܐ ܘܠܐܪܡܝܐ ... ܠܝܗܘܕܝܐ ܘܠܐܪܡܝܐ (*lit.* 'whether Jews or Aramaeans').

The confusion in Mk vii 26 between 'widow' and 'Syrian' becomes of particular interest in view of Wellhausen's conjecture (GGN 1895, i 12), that when we read in Lk iv 26 that though there were many widows in Israel in the days of Elijah, unto none of them was he sent but only to Sarepta, unto a woman that was *a widow*, we are to believe that in the original Aramaic our Lord had said that unto none of the widows in Israel was Elijah sent but only to Sarepta, unto the woman that was *a heathen* (ארמלתא for ארמייתא). For other instances of apparent palaeographical confusion in the Syriac Bible, see on Lk ii 30.

The Συροφοινίκισσα *τῷ γένει* is rendered in *S* by

ܠܐܡܐ ܕܦܝܢܩܝܐ ܕܣܘܪ

i.e. Συρο- was derived from *Ṣor*, the Hebrew and Syriac name for Tyre, which appears in some parts of the LXX as Σόρ. This of course is impossible etymology, though it agrees very well with Matt xv 22. The district called Συροφοινίκη in the 2nd century was sufficiently large to include Damascus (Justin, *Tryph* § 78), but doubtless the Evangelist meant nothing more than that the woman was neither a Jewess nor one of the Greek-speaking townsfolk. The Peshitta has ܠܐܡܐ ܕܦܝܢܩܝܐ ܕܣܘܪܝܐ *from Phoenicia of Syria*, i.e. 'from that part of Syria which is called Phoenicia.' This is necessarily vague, like the Greek. Later Oriental students of the Bible tried to be more precise. The usual Arabic texts of the Gospel (e.g. Erpenius's and Lagarde's) say that the woman was a Greek Syrian from the Jordan Valley (جنسها من الغور), possibly through some confusion with the woman who had an issue, whom Eusebius asserts to have come from Paneas. Barsalibi, on the other hand, understands the Peshitta to mean the district known in early Byzantine times as Syria II, between Apamea and Caesarea (mod. Shaizar). A similar line is followed in *Diat*^{ar} xx 48, which says the woman was من حمص الشام *from Emesa of Syria*, i.e. from a district which was also called *Phenice Libani* as distinguished from Phoenicia proper on the sea coast. That this would be a natural interpretation from the 4th century onward may be seen from the Note upon the relics of apostles, etc. in the Cod. Fuldensis (6th cent.), where we read

caput iohannis baptistae in prouincia phenicae ciuitate emetza.

Thus there is no reason to suppose that the statement in *Diat*^{ar} xx 48, connecting the Syrophoenician woman with Emesa, rests on 'tradition' or that it ever stood in the Syriac Diatessaron. It is merely an interpretation of the geographical expression by which the Peshitta rendered the Greek Συροφοινίκισσα (or Σύρα Φοινίκισσα).

vii 33 For a discussion of the readings, see pp. 127*f*.

viii 23 The photograph is here illegible and S^{ed} has ܟܫܘܕܐ ** ܟܕ. Probably this is nothing more than a mere error of transcription, and we should read ܟܫ ܥܠ ܟܕ, a sufficiently good rendering of *εἴ τι βλέπεις;*

viii 25 With regard to the word to be supplied, the Greek is *καὶ διέβλεψεν καὶ ἀπεκατέστη καὶ ἐνέβλεπεν* for which *k* has *et uidit et restitutus est ut uideret.* The Armenian has 'he pierced and was seeing, he recovered and was seeing'; in fact, the Peshitta stands practically alone in omitting a verb to correspond with *διέβλεψεν.*

viii 32 'as if pitying him,' *or* 'as if sparing him.' The reading of *S* was also current in the Diatessaron, for Ephraim (*Moesinger* 156) says 'And when he was pitying him, as at the first when he said *Be it far from thee!*...' The confusion between ܚܘܣ and ܚܫ belongs therefore to the Arabic Diatessaron only, not to the earlier Syriac form.

It should be noted that there is really a confusion between three words, *viz.* (1) ܚܘܣ, i.e. *absit*, a word corresponding to the Arabic حاشا ‖ חשׁי; (2) ܚܘܣ, pres. part. of ܚܘܣ 'to pity,' or 'spare,' ‖ חוס; (3) ܚܫ, pres. part. of ܚܫ, 'to suffer,' ‖ חשׁשׁ. If any other evidence were forthcoming, we might perhaps take ܚܘܣ, the reading of *S*, to be a denominative from ܚܣ *absit*, and translate ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܚܘܣ ܠܟ ܡܪܝ 'as if saying *Be it far from Thee!* over Him.'

Dr Edwin Abbott has most appropriately pointed out to me that a similar confusion between these roots is found in Eccl ii 25, where the mysterious יחוש is rendered *φείσεται* by Aquila and Symmachus and some texts of LXX, but in the Targum by גברא דאית ליה חששא.

ix 1 ܡܠܝ ܕܩܛܝܡ, i.e. 'those that stand' (= *τῶν ἑστηκότων*). A comparison with Joh xi 41[a] makes it clear that the sense intended is simply 'the by-standers,' for in that verse *ἦραν οὖν τὸν λίθον* is rendered by *S* ܫܩܠܘ ܠܐܒܢܐ ܡܢ ܕܩܛܝܡ ܩܪܒ ܘܫܩܠ ܐܒܢܐ ܡܢ ܕܩܪܒ, i.e. 'then those folk standing *by* drew near *and* lifted the stone.' A similar instance is to be found in Joh xviii 22. But the use of ܕܩܛܝܡ for *ἑνεστῶτα* in 1 Cor iii 22 seemed sufficiently near to justify a reference.

ix 12 On Syriac renderings for 'cross,' see on Lk xxiv 7.

ix 15 For a discussion of the reading of Diat[ar] xxiv 26, see p. 193.

ix 50 ܢܬܒܫܡ must be a miswriting of ܢܬܒܫܚ, and perhaps it would be better to take it as 1st pers. pl., i.e. 'wherewith shall *we* season it?'

x 11, 12 On the reading, see p. 250, and the present writer's *Note* in the *Journ. of Theol. Studies* v 628—630.

x 25 The use of ܟܠ by A^a is very curious: it is one of the many proofs that this MS often preserves the text of Aphraates better than the slightly older MS A^b+A^b, preferred by Wright. In this passage, is it possible that ܟܠ is connected with the *τάχειον* which is substituted for *εὐκοπώτερον* in D^{gr}?

x 50 On the reading, see p. 250.

xi 3 On the reading, see p. 122, note.

xii 14 On ܟܬܝ ܟܣܦ, see p. 82.

xii 42 On the Syriac renderings, see pp. 128, 129, and the Note on Lk ii 30.

xiii 28 ܗܘܕܡ *S* (*sic*): see pp. 46 and 51, note.
In *v.* 25 read ܟܬܠܬܐ for ܡܬܠܬܐ, and in *v.* 27 read ܡܛܝ for ܟܬܝ: see vol. i, p. 547, and vol. ii, p. 45.

xiv 24 This is the only place where a pre-Peshitta text has 'my blood OF the new covenant.' In Matt xxvi 28 *S* and A^a 221 have ܕܝܬܟ ܗܕܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܝ, and the same words are added by *S* to Lk xxii 17. No other MS of Aphraates is extant at *Wright* 221 except A^a: the reading ܕܚܕܬܐ in Wright's text is conjectural only. In Matt xxvi 28 Gwilliam's 20, and in Mk xiv 24 Gwilliam's 14 15, have ܕܚܕܬ for ܕܚܕܬܐ.

xiv 63 'our witnesses': see on Matt xv 2.

xv 8 On the reading, see p. 225.

xv 29 On ܐ̈ܘ, see p. 29 and *Nöldeke* § 9.

xvi 3, 4 On the reading of *S*, see pp. 241*f.*, 250.

[**Mk**] **xvi 17—20** That the original form of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* omitted the 'Longer Conclusion' to S. Mark, *viz.* xvi 9—20, is proved by the absence of the verses from *S*: see *Introd.* pp. 194, 208*f.* The object of this Note is to point out that the renderings in the Peshitta text of [Mk] xvi 9—20 shew the influence of the Diatessaron, while *C* represents an independent rendering from the Greek, a rendering in which the style of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* has been to a considerable extent abandoned.

ver. 17 δαιμόνια] ܫܘܕ̈ܐ 'demons' *C*; ܣܛܢ̈ܐ 'devils' syr.vg and Aphraates 21. The word ܫܘܕ never occurs in the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* except in S. John, but it has been occasionally substituted for ܣܛܢ in syr.vg. The tendency in later times was thus to introduce ܫܘܕ and to get rid of ܣܛܢ: the presence therefore of ܣܛܢ in syr.vg suggests that the text of syr.vg is here an adaptation from a previously existing Syriac text, and the quotation in Aphraates shews that this text was the Diatessaron.

ver. 18 βλάψῃ] ܢܬܟ 'hurt' *C*; ܐܫܬ 'injure' syr.vg. In Lk iv 35, the only other passage in the Gospels where βλάπτειν occurs, *S* has ܐܫܬ while syr.vg has ܐܝܩ. The rendering of syr.vg in this verse thus agrees with Old Syriac usage against that of *C*.

ver. 19 ἀνελήμφθη] ܐܬܬܟܠ 'he was taken up' *C*; ܐܠܨ 'he went up' syr.vg and Aphraates 406, 409. ܐܬܬܟܠ only occurs in the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* in Lk xiv 10 (and in the parallel Matt xx 28 *C*), where it corresponds to προσαναβαίνεσθαι. But 'he went up' is also found in an Old Latin text of this verse, *viz.* the fragment called *o*, which is a 'supply' of the 7th cent. to Cod. Sangallensis (*n*) and represents, as I venture to think, the same type of text.

ver. 20 τοῦ κυρίου συνεργοῦντος] *C* has ܕܡ ܡܪܢܐ ܥܡܗܘܢ ܟܠ 'the LORD being with them in all'; syr.vg has ܘܡܪܢ ܥܡܗܘܢ ܗܘܐ ܡܣܥܪ 'and our Lord was helping them.' This is much too free a rendering to have been coined for the first time in the age of Rabbula, and we may conjecture the phrase to have stood in the Diatessaron. Here again the rendering can be paralleled from Western authorities, for all the Old Latin texts of this passage which survive, *c*, *o* and *q*, have *Domino adiuuante*, not *Domino cooperante* as in the Vulgate.

Finally we may notice a curious turn in the Peshitta of [Mk] xvi 11 which must have been derived from a Gospel Harmony. The Greek has κἀκεῖνοι ἀκούσαντες ὅτι ζῇ καὶ ἐθεάθη ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἠπίστησαν, but in syr.vg we find

ܘܗܢܘܢ ܟܕ ܫܡܥܘ ܕܚܝܐ ܗܘ ܘܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܗܝܢ ܠܐ ܗܝܡܢܘ ܒܗ.

And they, when they heard that the women say that He was alive and had appeared to them, did not believe them.

Thus, instead of a reference to Mary Magdalene alone, the text is made to speak of the other women also. But the alteration was almost unavoidable according to the scheme of the Diatessaron, which placed [Mk] xvi 11 between Lk xxiv 10 and 11[a], verses which speak of Joanna and Mary the mother of James as well as of Mary Magdalene. No Old Latin text has here been influenced by the Diatessaron, but Cod. Fuldensis adds *eis* at the end of the verse.

i 1–4 S. Luke's Preface, as might be anticipated, affords evidence both of the common origin of the Peshitta and the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* and of their frequent divergence. The opening words ܟܕ ܟܬܒ ܥܠ ܣܕܪ ܩܕܡ are a sufficiently bald rendering of Ἐπειδήπερ πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν to establish at once a literary connexion between "syr.vt" and "syr.vg," but the two differ as to the meaning of πεπληροφορημένων ἐν ἡμῖν. In *S* this is rendered by 'completed among us,' as in the text of the English Revised Version; syr.vg has ܕܫܠܡ ܒܝܢ ܟܣܝܢ ܕܫܠܡ, i.e. 'the things of which we are fully persuaded,' in agreement with the English Bible and Rom xiv 5.

i 46, 56 Who spoke the *Magnificat*? According to most authorities, comprising all Greek MSS and many Latins, including Tertullian *De Anima* 26 (expressly), it was spoken by Mary; according to *a b l** and Irenaeus[lat] 235 (not 185) the *Magnificat* was spoken by Elisabeth[1]. In favour of this view might be urged the αὐτῇ of *ver.* 56: we read there that 'Mary' remained with 'her,' a use of the pronoun which indicates that Elisabeth and not Mary was the previous speaker. It is therefore important to notice

(i) that *S* and *A* 180 and syr.vg read *Mary* in i 46;

(ii) that *S* and syr.vg get rid of the difficulty in i 56 by reading 'Mary remained by Elisabeth.'

No other authorities follow the Syriac here, but the fact that the Syriac has inserted the proper name for the pronoun in *ver.* 56 helps to recommend the conjecture that the true text of *ver.* 46 had καὶ εἶπεν without Μαριάμ.

i 49[b], 50 The translation given on p. 249 is inaccurate: it should read 'He, whose Name of mercy is glorified and holy unto ages and for generations to them that fear Him' (*or* 'by them that fear Him').

It is remarkable how different the rhythm of the Syriac is from that which is familiar to us: the impression left on my mind by the text of *S* is that the translator of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* was not accustomed to any liturgical use of the *Magnificat*.

ii 10 ܠܟܠ ܥܡܐ *to all the world*: Gr. παντὶ τῷ λαῷ. This translation recalls the Babylonian-Jewish Aramaic כְּלִי עָלְמָא, meaning 'every one' (Dalman's *Worte Jesu* 144), just as εἰς ὅλον τὸν κόσμον is used in Mk xiv 9 in the same sense. The Greek itself, like the Galilean Aramaic כל עמא, means 'every one,' as in Lk viii 47, xviii 43, xx 6, 45. The fact that in none of these latter cases the Syriac has ܠܥܡܐ makes it likely that ܠܥܡܐ in Lk ii 10 is only a corruption of ܥܡ, or rather that it is one

[1] Niceta of Remesiana, the author of the *Te Deum*, also ascribes the authorship of the *Magnificat* to Elisabeth in his tract *De Bono Psalmodiae* (ed. Burn, pp. 76, 79).

of the curious set of more or less intentional changes discussed in the Note below. Matt i 21 is different, for there *C* differs from *S* in the suffix as well as in having ܚܠܨ for ܚܨ.

ii 14 ܥܠܝܐܝܬܐ *S*: see pp. 41, 80.

ii 30 ܝܫܘ *Thy Mercy* is the reading of *S*, of syr.vg, of Ephraim (see above, p. 129, and *Moes.* 28). The Greek is τὸ σωτήριόν σου, so that according to Syriac Biblical usage we should have expected ܚܝܘ *Thy Life* (see p. 81). The correction is easy and obvious, and yet it is not made by any extant Syriac text.

The fact is that the substitution of ܝܫܘ for ܚܝܘ in this passage is only one of a series of readings, which taken together make up one of the most curious features of the Syriac version. The ample attestation of the phrase from the *Nunc dimittis* in our Syriac authorities makes it a convenient point for noticing the general question.

In the following passages a slight change in the transmitted text of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* would bring it into conformity with the Greek. Passages marked with * are those in which the Peshitta follows the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* against the Greek. Proper names such as ܐܦܪܥܝܡ (Lk iii 36) are not included.

* Matt viii 4 ܠܟܗܢܐ *to the priests*: Gr. τῷ ἱερεῖ. The plural points do not happen to be legible in *S*, but they are found in *C* and in all the MSS of syr.vg.

* Matt ix 36 ܫܕܝܡ *let loose*: Gr. ἐριμμένοι. The obvious correction, *viz.* ܫܕܝܡ 'cast,' is made in the Harclean but not in any MS of syr.vg. Compare ܥܒܕܘ Ps ii 3 (*sic*), according to all the MSS.

Mk vii 26 ܥܠܡܝܬܐ *widow*: Gr. Ἑλληνίς. Instead of the obvious correction ܥܠܡܝܬܐ *heathen*, syr.vg reads ܥܠܡܝ 'pagan.'

Mk xii 38, Lk xx 46 ܒܣܛܘܠܐ *in porches*: Gr. ἐν στολαῖς. Here syr.vg has ܒܠܒܘܫܐ *in robes*, as we should expect.

Mk xii 42 ܬܪܝܢ ܦܪܬܐ *two pounds* (so syr.vg and Ephraim): Gr. λεπτὰ δύο. Here *S* is different. The reading of syr.vg, which is doubtless that of the Diatessaron, appears to be a corruption of ܬܪܝܢ ܡܕܝܕ *two farthings*, according to Professor Bevan's suggestion, given above on p. 129.

* Lk ii 10 ܠܟܠ ܥܡܐ *to all the world*: Gr. παντὶ τῷ λαῷ (see the Note above).

* Lk ii 30 ܝܫܘ *Thy Mercy*: Gr. τὸ σωτήριόν σου (see above).

(*) Lk iv 19 ܫܕܪ *S*, ܐܬܫܕܪ syr.vg, [*to*] *strengthen*: Gr. ἀποστεῖλαι. We should have expected ܐܬܫܕܪ *to send*, as in the Harclean. Here *S* and syr.vg actually differ in the form of the verb, and yet agree against the Greek in what, if it had stood alone, we should have dismissed as the mere blunder of a Syriac scribe: see further the Note on Lk iv 19 and the remarkable parallel afforded by Ps xliv 2 syr.vg.

* Lk xix 20 ܒܣܕܪܐ *in a cloth*: Gr. ἐν σουδαρίῳ (not ἐν σινδόνι). In the other three places where σουδάριον occurs (Joh xi 44, xx 7; Ac xix 12) it is rendered by ܣܕܪܐ, while ܣܕܪ should correspond with σινδών, as in Mk xiv 51.

Lk xx 46, see above on Mk xii 38.

* Lk xxiv 32 ܟܒܝܕ *heavy*: Gr. *καιομένη*. The obvious emendation is ܡܩܕ *burning*, which is adopted by the Harclean.

I have not included in this list the confusions between ܝܪܬ *to inherit* and ܙܟܐ *to gain*, which are to be found in Matt xviii 15 *C*, Mk viii 36 *S*, and apparently in Mk x 17 syr.vg, because in these passages the MSS are not unanimous.

The common feature of the eleven passages quoted above is that the Syriac presents a reading which gives a plausible sense but is not a translation of the Greek, while a very slight change in the Syriac letters would produce a reading which is a literal translation of the Greek, though in most cases the translation would read somewhat harsh. It is difficult to avoid the supposition that the original Syriac version of the Gospel, i.e. the Diatessaron, was corrected here and there before publication *without* the help of a Greek MS, and that some at least of the corrections then made in the interests of a smoother diction passed unchanged from the Diatessaron into the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*, and from the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* or direct from the Diatessaron into the present Syriac Vulgate. The minute care of Thomas of Heraclea eliminated all these readings from his revised text, but in most instances they leave a trace behind in the citation of the actual Greek words on the margin of the Harclean version.

There is a curious parallel in English to this smoothing down of a Biblical text for the purposes of public worship. When the Psalms first were printed from Coverdale's Bible in the Book of Common Prayer several changes were made, which held their own till 1662. The most striking is that whereby in the 68th Psalm, instead of "praise him in his Name JAH," we read "praise him in his name, *yea*, and rejoice before him." This ingenious emendation, which is of course entirely destitute of any ancient authority, appears to me to afford a very close resemblance to the readings here collected from the earlier Syriac texts.

ii 48 ܥܟܝܡܐ ܟܐܝܠܐ ܥܚܝܕܬ, the reading of *C*, stands for *ὀδυνώμενοι καὶ λυπούμενοι* as in D *a e ff g l q r gat.* ܥܚܝܕܬ is used for *λύπη* in Lk xxii 45 by all Syriac texts, so that ܥܚܝܕܬ, i.e. 'in trouble,' corresponds to *λυπούμενοι*. But when this word was inserted into the ancestor of *C* it was natural to put it before ܟܐܝܠܐ, not after it, because ܥܚܝܕܬ is fem. To put it after ܥܟܝܡܐ would spoil the rhythm and to put it before ܥܟܝܡܐ would sound like a false concord.

For a similar instance, see the Note on Lk xx 34.

iii 1 ܗܒܠ. On the reading of *S**, see vol. i, p. 548. The spelling ܗܒܠ (with ܒ not ܠ), both in ancient and modern times, seems to rest on a popular derivation which connects the name with that of the Patriarch Abel (see G. A. Smith in *Ency. Bibl.* 17).

iii 6 On ܡܫܝܚܐ ܫܡܗ in *A*, see pp. 81, 205.

iii 7 'coming unto him' *C*, 'coming to him to be baptized' *S*. The Peshitta has ܠܡܬܥܡܕ ܥܠܘܗܝ, i.e. it agrees with *S* except in the preposition. The ordinary Greek text has *βαπτισθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ*, the same phrase as in Matt iii 6 and Mk i 5, for which

we should expect in Syriac ܕܢܬܒܗ ܠܡܐ, or (less probably) ܕܢܬܒܗ ܩܕܡ as in Lk vii 30. Possibly therefore the disturbing cause is the Western reading *βαπτισθῆναι ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ*, found in D *b e l* q r*. This uncommon phrase is very likely to be genuine: possibly even it stood in the source from which S. Luke took Lk iii 10–15. It seems to present a view of Jewish Baptism in which the penitent administered the rite to himself, as Naaman did.

iii 23–38 For the general bearing of the Genealogies upon the date of the Syriac N.T., see p. 202. Two names call for special mention here, *viz.* 'Arphaxad' (*v.* 36) and 'Jared' (*v.* 37). With regard to the latter, I thought I saw ܝܪܕ in *S*, but the MS is very indistinct and if *S* really has this reading it can be nothing more than a scribe's mistake. More likely it is my own blunder. Aphraates 473 has ܝܪܕ, and this is the constant spelling in all other Syriac authorities, both in the Old Testament and in the New. The end of the name corresponding to 'Arphaxad' is illegible in *S*, but we cannot doubt that the final consonant was 'r' (not 'd'), as in Aphraates and the MSS of the Peshitta, both in O.T. and N.T. The case is somewhat similar to ܐܪܦܟܫܕ Matt i 13 *S C*, though there both *A* and syr.vg have ܐܪܦܟܫܪ. In the case of ܐܪܦܟܫܕ the N.T. Peshitta no doubt retained the (incorrect) final ܕ which it had inherited from the Old Syriac under the influence of the O.T. Peshitta, in the same way that it retained 'Beelzebub' with final 'b.'

It is necessary to emphasise the fact that the Peshitta text of Lk iii 36 really has ܐܪܦܟܫܕ, because Mr Gwilliam has edited ܐܪܦܟܫܪ against the evidence of his MSS, under the influence of a single 'Masoretic' Codex (Mas. 2 = B.M. Add. 12178), which gives in this Genealogy not the Peshitta tradition, but a sophisticated accommodation to Greek spellings. The Nestorian Masoretic Codex (Mas. 1 = B.M. Add. 12138) has ܐܪܦܟܫܰܕ, i.e. *Arpaχshâr*, and the same spelling and vocalisation is attested by the other Jacobite Masoretic MS. None of the ancient codices of syr.vg has any vocalisation by the original scribes, but they all have *r* at the end and not *d*, a fact which Mr Gwilliam has unaccountably failed to record.

The Syriac vocalisation of the name we call 'Jared' is ܝܰܪܕ, i.e. *Yard*, with hard *d*. This is a correct transliteration of the Hebrew יֶרֶד. Mr Gwilliam retains ܝܳܪܕ, an impossible form, apparently because his favourite Mas. 2 reads ܐܪܦܟܫܳܕ (*sic*). Yet ܦܪܨ (Φάρες *v.* 33) he correctly transliterates 'Pharts' (i.e. *Parṣ*).

iv 2 On the text of the quotation from the *Acts of Thomas*, see pp. 103, 104.

iv 18 The clause *ἀποστεῖλαι τεθραυσμένους ἐν ἀφέσει* is an adaptation of Isaiah lviii 6, inserted into the quotation of Isaiah lxi 1 ff. As is usual with quotations from the O.T. peculiar to S. Luke, the wording is that of the LXX. The O.T. Peshitta of Is lviii 6 is quite different, consequently the various Syriac translators and revisers from Tatian to Rabbula had nothing to influence them but the Greek. Now a perfectly literal and natural rendering of the Greek into Syriac would be

ܘܠܫܕܪܐ ܠܫܒܝܪܐ ܒܫܪܝܪܐ

and to send (away) the broken ones in remission.

This is not so poetical a rendering as that of the English Bible in Lk iv 18, which has 'to set at liberty them that are bruised,' but it is a far more literal version of the awkward Biblical Greek. Consequently when Widmanstadius in the Ed. Princeps of the Peshitta printed

ܘܠܡܬܒܪ ܠܫܒܝܪܐ ܕܐܬܚܡܘ

and to strengthen (or, *confirm*) *the broken ones in remission,*

it seemed obvious that there had been an error of the press. Following Schaff, therefore, the common editions have ܘܠܡܫܒܪ, which is also the reading of the Harclean. But the MSS of syr.vg support Widmanstadius, and Mr Gwilliam has very properly restored ܘܠܡܬܒܪ to the text. No doubt there is an error somewhere, but it is older than our MS tradition, i.e. it goes back to Rabbula.

The evidence goes beyond Rabbula, for *S* has ܘܐܬܒܪ, i.e. *and I will strengthen* (or, *confirm*), a reading which looks like a variation of ܘܠܡܬܒܪ made without consulting the Greek. In any case *S* attests the root ܒܪܪ and not the root ܫܒܪ. Thus the 'error' is really primitive and can be traced into the 2nd century, into the very beginnings of the Syriac N.T.

In the Note on Lk ii 30 it was shewn that this error does not stand alone, but that it is one of a series of plausible corrections which taken together seem to indicate that the original Syriac Gospel text was here and there smoothed down before publication.

The same phenomenon also occurs at least twice in the Psalms, in passages which greatly resemble what we find in Lk iv 18. At the end of Ps xliv 3 the Hebrew has ותשלחם 'and Thou didst send away them (i.e. the heathen),' and with this agrees the Greek καὶ ἐξέβαλες αὐτούς. But the MSS of syr.vg, instead of reading ܐܢܘܢ ܬܪܥܝܬ as we should expect, all have ܐܢܘܢ ܬܬܒܪ 'and Thou didst strengthen them (i.e. the Israelites).' Similarly in Ps ii 3 ונשליכה (Gr. καὶ ἀπορρίψωμεν) is rendered ܢܬܒܪ by all the MSS of syr.vg, not ܢܫܕܪ as we should expect: this is exactly parallel to Matt ix 36.

iv 29 On ܟܘܣ, see p. 79.

On ܡܢܠܗ ܕܥܡ and the corresponding words in the Diatessaron, see pp. 130, 183, 197*f*.

iv 44, v 1 The text of *S* here rests on Professor Bensly's transcript, as emended by Mrs Lewis from what seemed visible in the MS in 1895, the photograph being almost entirely illegible. The text as printed in *Some Pages* runs thus:

ܕܚܕܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܥܡ ܝܗܒ
ܗܘܐ ܕܒܥ ܥܡ ܒܪ
ܒܗ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ ܢܫܐ ܥܡ
ܕܡܠܟ ܡܫܝܚ ܡܢ
ܐ ܠ ܥܡ ܩܕܡ ܐܡ
ܡܚܝ ܗܘܐ

Of this only the first four words were marked by Professor Bensly as certain. Some of the rest he had not made out, and some he had only transcribed tentatively. The certain words, however, reach to the end of Lk iv 44 and include the very interesting reading Ἰουδαίας instead of Γαλιλαίας (see above, p. 227).

But I cannot believe that Professor Bensly's more or less tentative ܐܠܘ in line 2 can be the reading of the MS, or that line 3 has been correctly deciphered by Mrs Lewis. The photograph seems to indicate that line 3 began with ܒ (or ܫ), where *Some Pages* has ܒܬܪ ܕ. I have no suggestion to offer, and the exact wording of *S* in Lk v 1 is not a matter of prime importance; but it seemed worth while to point out that the doubt which overhangs the transcription of Lk v 1 does not extend to Lk iv 44.

v 21 For Ephraim's comment on this passage, see the end of the Note on Matt xii 40.

vi 20 For the rendering, see on Matt v 4.

vi 24 ܒܥܘܬܟ 'your supplication': for this rendering of τὴν παράκλησιν ὑμῶν, see p. 196 and the Note on Matt v 4.

vi 35 ܠܒܛܠܐ ܘܠܥܘܠܬܢܝܐ 'the ungrateful for kindness': Gr. τοὺς ἀχαρίστους. The same rendering is found in the Apocalypse of Baruch xiii 12, where ܠܒܛܠ ܕܚܝܢ ܐܝܟ corresponds to ἠχαριστεῖτε in the Oxyrhynchus fragment (*O. P.* iii, p. 5). The Syriac version of this Apocalypse thus appears to belong to the school of translation that produced the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*.

vi 43–45 The agreement in order between Aphraates 303 and the Diatessaron can best be exhibited by quotation in full:

A 303		Diat^{ar} x 35–38
They do not pluck from	Lk vi 44^{b} Matt vii 16^{b}	...and no one doth pluck
thorns grapes, nor figs		from thorns figs, nor gather
from briers; because the	Matt vii 17	from briers grapes. So every
good tree giveth good		good tree bringeth forth good
fruits and the bad tree giveth		fruit, and the bad tree bringeth
bad fruits. The good tree	Matt vii 18 (Lk vi 43)	forth bad fruit. The good tree
cannot give bad fruits, nor		cannot bring forth bad fruit, nor
the bad tree give good fruits.		the bad tree bring forth good fruit.
The good man from the good	Lk vi 45^{a} Matt xii 35	The good man from the good
treasures in his heart		treasures in his heart
bringeth forth and speaketh		bringeth forth
good things, and the bad		good things, and the bad
man from the superfluities		man from the bad treasures
of his heart bringeth forth		in his heart bringeth forth
and speaketh evil things,		evil things,
because from the	Lk vi 45^{b} Matt xii 34^{b}	and from the
superfluities of the heart		superfluities of the heart
the lips speak.		the lips speak.

Roughly speaking, this is Matt vii 16–18 followed by Lk vi 45. Here, as elsewhere, it must be remembered that the wording of the Arabic Diatessaron has been almost wholly assimilated to the Peshitta, so that the comparison with Aphraates can only be made as far as the order of the passages is concerned.

vii 14 On the rare word ܥܘܪܫ 'a bier,' see p. 80. On the doubled Νεανίσκε, attested by Aphraates and Ephraim, see pp. 131, 194.

vii 39 On ܚܙܐ, contracted in *S* for ܐܡ ܚܙܐ, see p. 42, note.

viii 27 For the construction of ܗܘܐ ܥܒܕ ܒܟܠ ܥܕܢ ܗܘܐ ܥܒܕ, compare ܗܘܐ ܩܡ ܘܡܬܩ ܒܟܠ ܥܕܢ 'and was always bellowing' (Life of Simeon Stylites 393[12], quoted in Nöldeke § 217).

viii 29 ܠܒܥܠ ܪܘܚܐ ܕܣܛܢܐ *S C*, a clear instance of ܪܘܚܐ being treated as masc. when used of an unclean 'spirit' (i.e. a ܫܝܛܢ): see further p. 44 and the Notes on Mk v 8, Joh iii 6. It is possible that ܫܝܛܢ was the original reading here of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*, as D and *e* actually attest δαιμονίῳ for πνεύματι. Yet δαιμονίῳ can hardly be the original reading, because the δαιμόνιον is never personally addressed as such; it is always spoken *to* as πνεῦμα.

viii 31 There can be little doubt that the mention of *Gehenna* in *C*, together with the other striking coincidences in this passage with *Moesinger* 75, comes from assimilation to the Diatessaron, and that on the whole the text of *S* preserves the genuine text of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*: see also p. 222.

viii 43 On the reading of *S*, which is that of B and the Armenian, and practically also of D and the Sahidic, see p. 227.

viii 45 On the punctuation in *C**, see p. 15.

viii 46, 48, 50 On ܐܬܐܡܪ ܠܗ in *S*, see p. 91.

viii 49 ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܪܒ ܕܟܢܘܫܬܐ *C* (= syr.vg) is obviously right, and should have been translated 'from the household of the chief of the synagogue': the Greek is παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχισυναγώγου.

ix 10 The best text (i.e. ℵ[ca]B LXΞ 33, the Egyptian versions, and practically D) puts the Feeding of the 5000 εἰς πόλιν καλουμένην Βηθσαιδά. Instead of this we find in ℵ[* & cb] (69) 157 and *C* εἰς τόπον ἔρημον without any mention of Bethsaida, i.e. the clause is assimilated to the parallel in Mk vi 31 = Matt xiv 31. Ciasca's Arabic Diatessaron xviii 21 is equally silent as to Bethsaida, so that we may conjecture that *C* here reproduces the text of Tatian. Most documents combine the two readings, either by adding the name Bethsaida to εἰς τόπον ἔρημον (lat.vt-vg syr.vg), or by reading with the majority of Greek MSS and the later versions εἰς τόπον ἔρημον πόλεως καλουμένης Βηθσαιδά.

The most natural and obvious way of regarding the text of *S*, which has

ܠܬܪܥ ܕܡ ܩܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܬܩܪܐ ܒܝܬ ܨܝܕܐ

to the gate of a city called Beth Saida,

is to treat it as an independent attempt to avoid "the difficulty of associating the incident with a 'city'" (Westcott and Hort's *Introduction* §143). I do not think it probable that the translator of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* confused πύλην and πόλιν, or that he worked from a Greek text in which the confusion had been made. It is more likely that the text of *S* has been misread, or that the scribe of *S* miswrote the first word, and that instead of ܠܩܪܝܬܐ the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* really had ܠܩܪܝܐ. Codd. 1-118-131-209 and cod. 700 read εἰς τόπον πόλεως καλ. B. This group of MSS often preserve a Greek text agreeing with that from which the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* was translated, and if we read ܠܩܪܝܐ *S* will agree verbally with them here.

The reading is important textually, because it is the nearest approach to an attestation by an ancient version of any of the 'conflate' readings which occupy so prominent a position in Dr Hort's theories about the history of the text of the New Testament. The very qualified support which *S* here seems to give to the 'received text' only throws into stronger relief its marked disagreement with the 'received text' in all the other seven cases of conflation which Dr Hort brought forward.

ix 23 On the spelling ܙܩܦ in *S*, see p. 51.

The phrase 'take up his cross *daily*' seems to have caused difficulty in ancient times. It is omitted by D *a l*, while the decisive word 'daily,' by which the passage in S. Luke differs from the parallel passage in the other Gospels, is omitted by the large majority of Greek MSS and by every Old Latin text. It is therefore not surprising to find that 'daily' is omitted by *S*, though found in *C* and syr.vg.

The presence of ܒܟܠ ܝܘܡ in syr.vg of course explains the insertion of 'daily' in the Arabic Diatessaron. In the absence of any serious evidence to the contrary, such as a quotation from Aphraates or Ephraim, we may conjecture that the earlier texts of Tatian's Harmony followed the Old Latin in omitting 'daily,' that *S* in omitting the word is following the then current text of the Diatessaron, and finally that *C* here gives us the true reading of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*. That *C* is not corrected from syr.vg is certain, for it has ܒܟܠ ܝܘܡ for καθ' ἡμέραν while syr.vg has ܒܟܠ ܝܘܡ without ܒ; moreover *C* has ܨܠܝܒܗ for 'his cross' while syr.vg (with *S*) has the more ordinary term ܨܠܝܒܐ (see the Note on Lk xxiv 7). One MS of syr.vg, Mr Gwilliam's 13, omits ܒܟܠ ܝܘܡ, a fact in which some may be inclined to detect a last echo of the use of the Diatessaron.

The retention of καθ' ἡμέραν in Lk ix 23 is one of the few passages where the so-called 'received text' does not reproduce the reading most current in the later Byzantine Empire. It was doubtless S. Jerome who first introduced in the West the phrase 'take up his cross daily' (Hier. *ad Principiam* i 955), and it was probably the presence of *cotidie* in the Vulgate which led Erasmus to admit καθ' ἡμέραν into the printed text, in agreement with cod. 1 but against the evidence of the common run of Greek authorities.

ix 35 The reading of *S*, ܕܝܢ ܒܪܝ ܕܐܬܓܒܝ, represents ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἐκλελεγμένος, found here in ℵB LΞ (1) *a ff l gat aur* sah boh arm. Most documents read ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός as in Matt and Mk, and at the Baptism. The reading of *C*, ܕܝܢ ܒܪܝ ܘܚܒܝܒܝ 'My Son and My Beloved,' is evidently derived from a reminiscence of the parallel passages in the Syriac (if not from the Diatessaron itself), rather than from a direct comparison with Greek MSS.

Here, as in Joh i 34 and perhaps in Joh iii 16 the expression 'Chosen Son' has been removed in many texts, so as to avoid a form of words which might favour an 'adoptionist' theory of our Lord's Nature.

ix 58 For a justification of rendering ܐܢ in *S* by 'if' or 'though' (and not 'verily'), see p. 73 and the other examples of similar constructions there collected.

ix 61 go and shew it] The Greek has ἀποτάξασθαι, but it is difficult to avoid the suspicion that *S* and *C* get their rendering from the Latin *renuntiare* or *ire nuntiare*. The verb ἀποτάσσεσθαι is translated in Syriac texts by ܫܕܪ 'dismiss' in Mk vi 46, 2 Cor ii 13; by ܫܒܩ 'leave' in Lk xiv 33; and by ܫܕܪ ܫܠܡܐ 'give salaam (*or*, greeting)' in Ac xviii 18. In Lk ix 61 itself syr.vg has ܐܙܠ ܐܫܠܡ, i.e. 'that I go and make my salaam,' an admirable rendering of the Greek. In Latin texts of the Gospels *nuntiare* and *renuntiare* (in the sense of 'send back a message') are used where the Greek has ἀπαγγέλλειν and the Syriac ܚܘܐ 'shew,' e.g. Matt ii 8, xi 4, xiv 12, Mk vi 30, Lk vii 22; while here and in Lk xiv 33 *renuntiare* (in the sense of 'renounce') is used for ἀποτάσσεσθαι. Several Latin texts, including *g*, have here *ire nuntiare*, which is still nearer *S* and *C*. I venture therefore to suggest that the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* in Lk ix 61 reproduces the text of the Diatessaron, and that the Diatessaron may have been based in this passage upon a text that had been altered to suit the supposed meaning of the current Latin version[1].

ix 62 For Ephraim's quotation, see p. 132.

x 6 For εἰ δὲ μήγε, *S* has ܐܢ ܠܐ (*sic*, see vol. i, p. 550). On this use of ܐܢ ܠܐ for 'else,' see pp. 67, 68 note.

x 17 On ܐܬܟܢܝ (*S*^{ed}), see p. 48.

x 34 On ܚܡܪܐ ܘܝܬܝܪܐ, see p. 43.

x 41, 42 Apart from general considerations derived from N.T. textual criticism, there can be little doubt that *S* gives here the true reading of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*. The text of *C* appears to be the work of the same clumsy hand that tried to patch up Joh iv 24. ܐܬܕܒܠ ܒܟ ܠܗ ܕܟܝܦܐ ܕܒܥܐ is an unnecessarily awkward rendering of μεριμνᾷς καὶ τυρβάζῃ. The words look like a marginal note (perhaps ܕܟܝܦܐ ܕܒܥܐ) ܐܬܕܒܠ ܒܟ), which was misread by a scribe when incorporated into the text. ܟܝܦܐ is a mere transliteration of τυρβάζειν: it is not a Syriac word.

It should be noted that the δὲ or γὰρ after Μαριὰμ at the beginning of *ver.* 42, which is an integral part of both the longer readings, is not represented in *C* any more than in *S*. See also pp. 219, 242.

xi 8 On the construction implied in *S*^{ed}, see p. 72.

xi 15 On the spelling of 'Beelzebub,' see p. 204.

xi 25 f. The text of *S* can be taken in two ways: either (1) 'when the unclean spirit came, it found the house swept. [26] Then it goeth,' &c.; or (2) 'when the unclean

[1] See also pp. 208, 234, and Dr Rendel Harris's *Study of Codex Bezae*, p. 255.

spirit came *and* found the house swept, [26] then it goeth,' &c. The change of tense at the beginning of *ver.* 26 shews that the apodosis comes there, and that (2) is the right construction.

The general meaning of the whole passage is surely "This is what happened once upon a time to a certain person: even so shall it be to this evil generation," to adapt the phraseology of Matt xii 45^{b}. But when it was regarded as a revelation concerning demoniacs and evil spirits it seemed necessary to accentuate the negligence of the unfortunate patient, in order to justify his second seizure. The First Evangelist had added the word σχολάζοντα, and this is interpolated into Lk xi 25 by many Greek MSS, including B, and apparently Origen. The *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* escaped this corruption, but attained the same result by giving a hypothetical turn to the whole figure, both here and in Matt xii 43 *ff.*

xi 33 On the reading of *S*, see p. 251. This passage is one of the few where the mosaic of the Diatessaron appears to be better preserved in the Latin *Codex Fuldensis* than in Ciasca's Arabic. The Arabic (viii 42) presents only a simple transcript of Matt v 15, but *fuld* (p. 46) has *Neque accendunt lucernam et ponunt eam sub modio* neque sub lecto NEQUE IN LOCO ABSCONDITO neque sub uaso *sed super candelabrum ut et luceat omnibus qui in domo sunt.* The foundation of this also is Matt v 15 (*italics*), but what is in small capitals comes from Lk xi 33 and what is in ordinary type corresponds to Lk viii 16. The 'bushel,' the 'bed,' and the 'concealed place' are mentioned by *A* 14 in this order, which is doubtless that of Tatian. The 'bushel' is rightly omitted by *S* in Lk xi 33: it is a detail that belongs to Matt and Mk, not to Lk. It has been interpolated into *C* as into most Greek MSS, but the Greek MSS put it after the 'concealed place,' while in *C* it comes before.

xi 35, 36 The best Western MSS (D *a b e ff i r*) simply substitute Matt vi 23^{b} for these somewhat obscure verses. *C* has Lk xi 35, but substitutes Matt vi 23^{b} for the following verse. The Latin Vulgate and *f* have the ordinary text, but *f* adds at the end a form of Lk xi 36 agreeing with *S*. The remaining Latin MS *q* agrees with *S*.

The three aberrant texts run as follows:—

S	*q*	*f*
Thy body also, therefore	si ergo corpus tuum	si enim corpus quod in te est
what time there is in it no lamp that shineth,	lucernam non habens lucidam	lucernam non habuerit lucentem tibi
becometh darkened;	obscurum est·	tenebrosa est·
so	quanto magis	quanto magis autem
what time thy lamp becometh bright,	cum lucerna luceat	lucerna tua fulgens
it shineth for thee.	inluminat te.	lucebit tibi.

A comparison of these three texts with the ordinary Greek suggests that the common original may have been εἰ οὖν τὸ σῶμά σου λύχνον φωτεινὸν μὴ ἔχον ἐστὶ σκοτεινόν, οὕτως (*or*, πόσῳ μᾶλλον) ὅταν ὁ λύχνος ἀστράψῃ φωτίζῃ σε. But I fear that I cannot claim that this is much more lucid than the obscurity of the *Received Text* of the verse.

See also p. 243.

xii 5 The spelling ܐ̈ (for ܝ̈ 'yea') here found in *S* occurs now and then elsewhere, *e.g.* in the colophon to the upper writing of the Sinai Palimpsest itself (ܣܝܡ̈ ܐ̈ *fol.* 181). But the normal spelling ܝ̈ occurs several times in *S*, so that this passage is not decisive evidence for the meaning of ܐ̈ in Lk ix 58 *S*.

xii 19 For the readings of Ephraim, see p. 133; for the *Book of Martyrs*, see p. 157.

xii 31 The first letter of ܬ̈ܚ̈ appears to me to have been erased from the text of *S*, before the MS became a palimpsest. It is now quite illegible.

xii 36 The allusion to this verse in *Thos*[315] is discussed on p. 103.

xii 45, 46 On the construction here found both in *S* and in *C*, see p. 71.

xii 46 The use of the word διχοτομεῖν in this verse and in the parallel Matt xxiv 51 affords one of the strongest arguments that the common source of Matt and Lk was in Greek. Such an exceedingly peculiar punishment as dichotomy is out of place here, and the word is probably a mere misrendering of some Aramaic equivalent for the Biblical כרת 'to cut off.'

The difficulty appears to have been felt by *S* or its ancestor, but the remedy attempted was to connect διχοτομήσει with τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ. But the corrector's marks seem to have been misunderstood, and so we get ܘܢܬܗ̈ ܕܚ̈ ܘܢܬܗ̈ instead of ܘܢܬܗ̈ ܕܚ̈ ܘܢܬܗ̈, i.e. feminine suffixes.

xii 55 On the significance of Ephraim's quotation, see pp. 134, 148, 192.

xiii 10, 11 On the construction, see pp. 69, 70.

xiii 34 Instances where the contracted forms are used with pronouns of the 2nd person are collected on p. 42.

xiv 15 ܐ̈ܪ̈ܝ̈ 'breakfast' corresponds to ἄριστον. On the reading, see p. 225.

xiv 16–24 For the allusions in *Thos*[315] and in Aphraates, see pp. 101, 102.

xiv 34 The point in *S* after ܬ̈ܚ̈ is anomalous. It is possibly meant to indicate that the final ܬ is audible. In Matt v 13 we find ܬ̈ܚ̈ so written in *C*, and similarly A^{b} in Wright, pp. 271 *bis*, 333 *bis*, 335, 457.

xv 7 '...more than *over*.' On this curiously loose Syriac construction, see p. 60.

xv 16 On the 'husks of the sea,' see p. 82. It should be noticed that in this verse *S* supports the ordinary Greek reading γεμίσαι τὴν κοιλίαν αὐτοῦ, which is also that of lat.eur, while *C* appears to attest the χορτασθῆναι of ℵBD 1-131 13&c *e f*. The distribution of the evidence suggests that *S* represents the text of the Diatessaron in this passage. See also on xvi 21.

xvi 11 On the particle ܚ̈ܡ̈ܪ̈, see p. 50.

xvi 21 Note that *S* translates χορτασθῆναι here by 'fill his belly,' probably under the influence of xv 16. From the same verse comes the clause 'No man was giving to him,' found in Aphraates, in the Ferrar Group and in a few Latin MSS. It is hardly necessary to postulate direct corruption from the Diatessaron in such a case as this.

xvi 24 ܒܨܒܥܗ 'his finger' is found in *S* and syr.vg, in agreement with the Greek τοῦ δακτύλου αὐτοῦ. *A* 383 paraphrases, but in *A* 43 and in Eph. *Lamy* iv 381 we find ܒܙܥܘܪܬܗ 'his little finger,' a picturesque rendering which must certainly come from the Diatessaron. See above, pp. 136, 184.

xvi 25. On the rendering of παρακαλεῖται, see pp. 136, 196.

xvii 7 ܐܬܠܐ occurs here only in the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*: see pp. 57, 78.

xvii 10 On ܩܫܫܐ, here translated 'riff-raff,' see p. 82 *f.*

xvii 11 The Greek has διήρχετο διὰ μέσον Σαμαρίας καὶ Γαλιλαίας, to which the Old Latin (but not D or lat.vg) adds *et Hiericho.* The Syriac for the *town* 'Samaria' is ܫܡܪܘܢ (Joh iv 7), but for the *district* 'Samaria' we find ܐܪܥܐ ܕܫܡ, i.e. 'the land of the Samaritans.' Now ܒܝܬ also means 'between,' so that the logically accurate Syriac for 'between Samaria and Galilee' would be ܐܪܥܐ ܕܫܡ ܒܝܬ ܠܓܠܝܠܐ. But such a doubling of the ܒܝܬ was felt to be awkward, and the actual reading of syr.vg is ܐܪܥܐ ܕܫܡ ܥܡ ܓܠܝܠܐ.

If we translate without reference to the Greek we can render this 'he was crossing Samaria to Galilee,' which is geographically improbable and is open to the objection that 'to cross' is generally, though not invariably, followed by ܠ or ܥܠ to express 'over.' If on the other hand we feel that ܒܝܬ and διὰ μέσον cannot be dissociated we must render 'he was crossing between the Samaritans and Galilee,' which is as awkward in Syriac as in English, so awkward indeed that it can only be regarded as a piece of patching.

The reading of *S C* very cleverly avoids the difficulties. By reading

ܥܒܪ ܒܝܬ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܫܡ ܥܡ ܓܠܝܠܐ [ܘܥܡ ܐܝܪܝܚܘ]

he crossed between the Samaritans and the Galilaeans [*to Jericho*]

the doubled ܒܝܬ is avoided by substituting in each case 'Samaritans' and 'Galilaeans' for 'Samaria' and 'Galilee.' The final word ܘܥܡ ܐܝܪܝܚܘ is absent from *S*, and so probably does not belong to the original text of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe.* But without this word the Syriac might very well be translated 'he crossed Samaria to the Galilaeans.' To avoid this misconception therefore *C* adds from the context a mention of Jericho.

But though it is natural to translate the text of *C*

he crossed between the Samaritans and the Galilaeans TO *Jericho,*

it is equally within the rules of Syriac Grammar (*Nöld.* § 251; see above, p. 62) to render it

he crossed between the Samaritans and the Galilaeans AND *Jericho,*

though this is the less natural construction, because 'Samaritans' and 'Galilaeans' are not co-ordinate with the *town* 'Jericho.' But this second rendering is in agreement with the Old Latin.

The natural inference to be drawn, if this variation stood alone, would be that the

reading of the Old Latin MSS was derived from a misunderstanding of the Syriac gloss. This is highly improbable. On general grounds it is likely that the interpolation *et Hiericho* arose in the West, was adopted in the Diatessaron, and carried over into *C* (not *S*); and that it is merely the accident of Syriac idiom which makes the interpolated text more forcible in Syriac than in Latin. In any case the variant teaches us not to lay too much weight on the converse argument derived from Lk ix 61[1].

xvii 17 The reading of *S* is certain (see vol. i, p. 552) so far as the omission of ܗܠ is concerned; in other words, *S* and *C* agree with D and the Old Latin in reading ουτοι instead of ουχοι or ουχιοι.

xvii 21 As stated on p. 198, this verse is noteworthy for the fact that the Peshitta and the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* and the Diatessaron are all extant and all different. It may therefore be not out of place to point out that the Homily ascribed to Ephraim which contains a quotation of this verse agreeing with the Peshitta (*Ed. Rom.* vi 550) is not really by S. Ephraim, but should be ascribed to Isaac of Antioch on the sufficient authority of B.M. Add. 14607, a MS of the 6th century.

xviii 5 On the construction, see p. 73.

For ὑπωπιάζῃ με *C* and syr.vg. have ܠܝ ܡܟܝܢ ‘annoy me,’ a very good rendering. *S* has ܢܬܬܦܣ ‘will take hold of me.’ This must be meant for the alternative reading ὑποπιάζῃ (G* 13&c al[mult]). In 1 Cor ix 27 there is a similar variety of reading in the Greek, and here the Sinai Arabic text published by Mrs Gibson has امسك جسدي ‘I will take hold of my body,’ to render ὑποπιάζω μου τὸ σῶμα.

xviii 25 On ܐܙ (for ܐܙܠ) in *S*, see p. 51.

xviii 30 On the reading, see p. 194.

xix 44 the day of thy greatness] The Greek is τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς σου. On this very curious rendering Cureton remarks (*Preface*, p. lix): ‘The translator here, at the same time that he betrays a want of knowledge of the Greek language, seems also to indicate that he performed his task at a period when the episcopal office was held in the highest dignity.’ I cannot but think Cureton right in believing that the translator here understood ἐπισκοπὴ in the sense of ‘the office of an ἐπίσκοπος,’ but his inference about the time when the translator lived is indefinite: the ἐπίσκοπος, wherever there has been a Christian officer called by that title, has been at all times the head of the ecclesiastical system, whether as resident Bishop or travelling Visitor. This word ܦܩܘܕܬܐ is not the conventional ecclesiastical equivalent for ἐπισκοπή, and so its use points to an early rather than to a late date. As a matter of fact, רבותא is actually used in the Targums for the Hebrew משחה in the technical sense of ‘the dignity conferred by ordination,’ e.g. Num xviii 8, Lev vii 25 (35). Agreements with Jewish Aramaic such as these belong to the earliest stratum of Christian Syriac.

On the reading of *S* and the Peshitta, see p. 222.

[1] The greater part of this Note will be found in the present writer’s Supplementary Notes to the Second Edition of Westcott and Hort’s *Introduction* (Appendix, p. 145).

xx 17 On the particle ܗܕ, see p. 50.

In the phrase εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας the last word is rendered ܟܘܢܐ by all Syriac authorities in Matt xxi 42, Mk xii 10. This is the natural rendering, as may be seen from Matt vi 5, and is probably implied in *Moesinger* 193. But in Lk xx 17 *S* has ܠܪܫ ܕܙܘܝܬܐ for εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας, as in the Peshitta of Ac iv 11, *C* has ܠܪܫ ܕܣܬܪܐ, as in the Peshitta of Ps cxviii 22, while syr.vg has ܠܪܫ ܕܙܘܝܬܐ ܟܘܢܐ, a conflation of *S* with the rendering found in the other Gospels.

The Book of Acts in syr.vg has been much less drastically revised than the Gospels, so that we may fairly take the agreement of *S* and Ac iv 11 as an indication that *S* has here preserved the original rendering. The text of *C*, on the other hand, can hardly be anything else than an assimilation of the Gospel text to that of the Psalms.

xx 29 The spelling ܐܚܕܐ is quite legible in the photograph of *S*. As mentioned on p. 48 this spelling is characteristic of several forms of Palestinian Aramaic, but in Edessene it does not seem to be known outside the Sinai Palimpsest.

xx 34 The only correct translation of ܕܡܬܐ ܕܡܬܐ, here read by *S* and *C*, is 'beget and are begotten,' as Cureton translated it. The first word is masculine and active; the second word by itself might be active or passive, but both the context and the readings of the Greek MSS shew that it is intended for a passive. The *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* therefore supports γεννῶσιν καὶ γεννῶνται with *a c e l* Irenaeus and Cyprian, against the γεννῶνται καὶ γεννῶσιν attested by D *ff i q*. The accident that the latter reading is attested by the Greek MS D has given it an undeserved prominence. The reading of *S C* and its allies is certainly the earlier form of the Western text, and I incline to regard it as a genuine clause of S. Luke's Gospel.

xxi 11 In view of the many notable variations in the extant Syriac texts of this verse it is worth pointing out that an allusion to it in the Chronicle of Joshua Stylites xlix (*Wright*, p. 45[16]) contains the definitely Peshitta phrase ܕܚܠܐ ܘܕܒܗܬܐ 'terrors and panics.'

At the end of the verse *S* stands almost alone with D and *e* among 'Western' authorities in omitting καὶ χειμῶνες.

xxi 18 This verse is contained in *S*, but omitted by *C* and Marcion. The text of Marcion, however, has elsewhere no special affinity with the Old Syriac, so that the coincidence here is probably accidental.

xxi 25 On the renderings of ἀπορία, see p. 83.

xxi 35 Both *S* and *C* have ܟܐ ܕܢܚ ܠܟܠ ܥܡ for ὡς παγὶς γὰρ ἐπεισελεύσεται (or ἐπελεύσεται), and the same rendering reappears in the Harclean. It is in fact a natural and literal translation of the Greek. But the Peshitta has ܕܢܚ ܟܐ ܠܟܠ ܥܡ ܕܒ 'for as a springe it shall spring.'

The origin of this striking and peculiar rendering is quite obscure. The meaning of the verb ܒ ܕ is attested by Aphraates 296[1] ܟܐ ܕܒ ܠܗ ܕ 'the snare closes upon it,' a phrase independent of Lk xxi 35. It may possibly have stood in the Diatessaron, but the passage is not extant in any early Syriac authority.

xxii 3 For the spelling of the name 'Iscariot,' see on Joh vi 71.

xxii 17–20 In agreement with Westcott and Hort I assume that the true text of these verses is that preserved in Codex Bezae. The reasons for this view are set forth in Dr Hort's well-known Note on the passage and do not need repetition here. Thus we have as the original form from which all the variants start:

> [17]And He received a cup and gave thanks and said: 'Take this and divide it among yourselves, [18]for I say unto you I will not drink from henceforth of the fruit of the vine, until the kingdom of God shall come.'
>
> [19a]And He took bread, and gave thanks and brake it and gave to them, saying: 'This is my body.'
>
> [followed immediately by [21]'But behold, the hand of him, &c.....']

The Old Latin MSS *a* (*b*) (*e*) *ff i l* support D, but *b* and *e* put *ver.* 19[a] before *vv.* 17, 18, so that the Bread may come before the Cup, as in the other accounts of the Last Supper. Most MSS, including ℵ and B, after 'This is my body' add "[19b] 'which is given for you: this do in remembrance of me.' [20]And the cup likewise after supper, saying: 'This cup is the new covenant in my blood, which is shed for you.'" These words are taken either direct from 1 Cor xi 23[b]–25, as Westcott and Hort suggest, or from a liturgical text itself based on S. Paul.

The Syriac evidence is more complicated. We have to consider, besides the Peshitta and the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*, the texts of the Diatessaron and of the Liturgy. The Peshitta only differs from the 'Received Text' by the omission of *vv.* 17 and 18. It does not agree in language with the Peshitta text of 1 Cor, and its genesis is (I think) best explained by supposing it to be a revision of a text like that of *S*, in which *ver.* 19 immediately followed *ver.* 16. Very likely *vv.* 17 and 18 stood in the Greek MS used by the reviser, but he passed them over either by accident or design.

The kind of text used in Syriac Liturgies during the 4th century is not improbably represented by the quotation in Aphraates 221, a combination of Matt and 1 Cor. It runs as follows:

> After Judas went forth from them (*cf* Joh xiii 30), He took bread and blessed and gave to His disciples and said to them: 'This is my body; take, eat of it all of you[1].'
>
> And also over the wine thus He blessed and said to them: 'This is my blood, the new covenant that for many is shed to forgiveness of sins: thus be ye doing for my memory whenever ye be gathered together.'

The last words are practically equivalent to 1 Cor xi 25[b], but they agree still closer with the end of the words of institution as printed in the Nestorian 'Liturgy of Theodore,' the present form of which dates from the 6th century[2]. That the quotation in Aphraates is not taken straight from the Diatessaron appears from the fact that it does not contain the portions of our Lord's words at the Supper which are quoted by Ephraim (*Moesinger* 222). Aphraates omits 'and brake' after 'blessed,' and he has

[1] For this phrase, see e.g. the *Canon Missae*, the Anaphora of Nestorius and the Coptic Anaphora published by Giorgi.

[2] It was 'translated' by Mar Aba the Catholicos. See Canon Maclean's Syriac edition, p. ٨٤.

nothing to correspond with 'I will not drink from henceforth of this fruit of the vine until the kingdom of my Father' (so *Moesinger* 222).

The narrative of the Supper in the Diatessaron, apart from these extracts, is very hard to ascertain. The Arabic (xlv 12–16) gives Matt xxvi 26–29 (= Mk xiv 22–25) followed by Lk xxii 19^{b} 'and so be doing for my memory.' But we cannot trust the details where they agree in text with the Peshitta, and possibly the true text of the Diatessaron contained more elements derived from S. Luke. But obviously S. Luke's account, in which the Cup comes before the Bread, was not made the basis of the narrative.

We have now to consider how best to explain the text of *S* and *C*, on the assumption that the Diatessaron and probably a liturgical text resembling Aphraates 221 was known to the translator. Two questions of importance arise: (1) Is the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* more faithfully preserved in *S* or in *C* at this point? and (2) What Greek text was known to the translator?

I have come to the conclusion that *C* is here the more faithful text, and that there is no indication that either *S* or *C* is based on the longer Greek text. The text of *S* may be arranged thus:—

1 Cor xi 23, 24 And He took bread [24]and gave thanks over it and brake and gave to them and said:

'This is my body that for you [I give];
So be doing for my memory.'

25 [25]And [after they supped] he took a cup and gave thanks over it and said:

Lk xxii 17^{b} 'Take this; divide among yourselves.

Matt xxvi 28^{a} [This is my blood, the new covenant.]

Lk xxii 18 [For] I say to you, that from now I shall not drink of this *fruit*, until the kingdom of God come.'

The words in brackets are omitted by *C*, and in line 7 instead of 'fruit' *C* has 'produce of the vine.'

The first four lines practically reproduce 1 Cor xi 23^{b}–25^{a} (in the true text)[1]. On the other hand, line 5 is Lk xxii 17^{b}, and line 7 is Lk xxii 18^{b}. Thus both *S* and *C* definitely attest Lk xxii 17, 18, which is the passage peculiar to the Third Gospel. The main reason that I consider the text of *C* here the earlier is that *C* is more faithful both to Lk and to 1 Cor: this might very well be the work of an editor combining documents for the first time, but a later scribe, revising a text by a Greek MS would have only assimilated the text before him to *one* Biblical passage. Assuming then *C* to be the more original, the passages in square brackets must be regarded as interpolations in the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*. In line 2 'I give' comes neither from S. Luke nor from S. Paul; it is a reminiscence of Joh vi 51, inserted to lighten the syntax. In line 4 'after they supped' is of course from 1 Cor xi 25, but without ὡσαύτως. Line 6 'This is my blood, the new covenant' corresponds to Matt xxvi 28^{a}, and it has a place in Aphraates 221. In line 7 'for' is inserted so as to avoid having so many clauses without any conjunction: it is indeed found in all MSS of Lk xxii 18 but *C*, but omissions of this sort are very common both in *S* and *C*. In the same line 'fruit' is a much more commonplace word

[1] The earliest Syriac form of 1 Cor is indicated here by the Armenian version.

than ܥܝܢܒܐ, a term specially appropriate here as is clear from the Peshitta text of Judg ix 13: probably 'fruit' was meant as a substitute for 'produce,' but in the process of substitution 'of the vine' was accidentally deleted also.

Taking *C* as our basis, it is not difficult to account for the additions found in *S*. To explain the genesis of *C* is more difficult, chiefly because the exact wording of the Diatessaron in its original form is unknown to us. But the words 'that (is) for you' after 'This is my body' definitely belong to 1 Cor xi 24 and not to the interpolated form of Lk xxii 19. All the MSS which have the longer form of Lk xxii 19 have τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον, and it is hardly likely, if *C* had got this passage from the interpolated form of Lk xxii 19, that it would have had only ܗܕܐ ܦܓܪܝ. I conclude therefore that the words came from S. Paul's account, probably through the medium of the Diatessaron, and that the Greek text of the Gospels known to the translator of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* here agreed in essentials with that approved by Westcott and Hort. The *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* here, as in so many other passages, may be not a simple translation from the Greek, but an adaptation of the language of the Diatessaron to agree more or less with the Greek text. At the same time it is quite likely that neither *S* nor *C* may give an uncorrupted text. It is possible that both *S* and *C* have been independently assimilated to the Diatessaron, and that the original form of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* may have been still nearer that approved by Westcott and Hort.

xxii 37 The ܕ which is inserted by *S* before ܟܬܝܒ is probably nothing more than a scribe's blunder: see p. 69, note.

xxii 48 For a discussion of the meaning and origin of the Syriac phrase ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ ܡܫܠܡ, here found in *C*, see the Note on Matt xii 40. In *S* we find ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܥܠ. There is no doubt as to the reading of the Palimpsest, but of course this ungrammatical expression is due to the error of some scribe.

I venture to suggest that the ܥܠ ܐܢܫ ܒܪ of *S* is a mistake, not for the commonplace ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܡܫܠܡ, but for ܥܠ ܐܢܫ ܒܪ, and that the sense intended was

Judas, with a kiss thou dost betray a man!

Two distinct questions are here raised. There is the question of what S. Luke wrote and the question of what the original words may have been. With regard to the first question, I do not think we can follow the lead of the Sinai Palimpsest. The fact that there is no various reading in the Greek is not in itself decisive, because the Latin *filium hominis* is essentially neutral between υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου and τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. But we should not expect to find υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου used by S. Luke in the sense of ἄνθρωπος.

We cannot doubt therefore that S. Luke wrote φιλήματι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδως, and that he understood *The Son of Man* to have the same meaning that it has in Lk xxii 69. But assuming the saying not to be the invention of the Evangelist, what was its original form? To what Aramaic phrase does it correspond? Here perhaps the Semitic tact of the ancestor of *S* may indicate the truth. The technical terminology of Lk xxii 69 is surely out of place here, and I venture to think that we shall do well, not to interpret ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου here in some artificial sense, but boldly

to substitute for it a simple ἄνθρωπος when we try to realise the actual scene. The same I feel sure is true of Matt xii 32 and Mk ii 10, 28. In all these cases the reference is not to the Messiah *qua* Messiah, but to man *qua* man. The Sabbath was made for man, therefore a man is lord of the Sabbath; to speak against a man is pardonable, but to resist the Spirit of God is unpardonable. It is the same in Lk xxii 48 : the crime of Judas is not so much that it was the Messiah whom he betrayed, as that he betrayed a man by means of a kiss.

xxii 52 στρατηγοὺς τοῦ ἱεροῦ] The 'Captains of the Temple' appear to have been a kind of Jewish sanctuary police. In Acts we hear of the Captain of the Temple (in the singular), and his satellites (Ac iv 1, v 24; 26). The ordinary text also has καὶ στρατηγοῖς in Lk xxii 4, but the word is omitted there by D lat.vt as well as by *S C* and the Æthiopic. In xxii 52 the words στρατηγοὺς τοῦ ἱεροῦ are doubtless genuine, but *S* renders them by ܩܛܝܪ̈ܐ under the influence of the Diatessaron, for according to Tatian the arrest of our Lord was made with the help of *Roman* soldiery (Diat^{ar} xlviii 22, confirmed by *Moesinger* 235). This view was apparently founded on the theory that the σπεῖραν of Joh xviii 3 implied an Imperial Cohort. The reading of *C*, ܕܡܫܟ̈ܢ̈ܐ ܩܛܝܪ̈ܐ, looks like a conflation of *S* with the Greek text, made by a reviser who saw that τοῦ ἱεροῦ was left out in the Syriac rendering. But ܩܛܝܪ̈ܐ, i.e. στρατιῶται, is hardly an appropriate rendering of στρατηγοί. The Peshitta, both here and in *ver.* 4, has ܕܡܫܟ̈ܢ̈ܐ ܕܒ̈ܝܬ ܩܘܕܫܐ.

xxii 54 On the names given to S. Peter by the various Syriac texts, see pp. 92–96. The Greek here has ὁ δὲ Πέτρος.

xxii 59 ܓܠܝܠܝܐ *S*, meaning 'Galilaean': see p. 46.

xxiii 2 'King Messiah.' On the more accurate equivalent for this well-known Jewish phrase, see p. 58.

xxiii 6 ܓܠܝܠ *S*, meaning 'Galilee': see p. 46.

xxiii 9ᵇ–12 The omission of these verses is a curious and unexplained phenomenon of the text of *S*. Possibly it is somehow connected with the awkward wording of xxiii 5, 6, where the omission of necessary words seems to indicate that the ancestor of *S* has been mutilated about this point. Unfortunately the African Latin of the verses has to be gathered wholly from the late MS *c*, as *e* seems to have been corrected from a commonplace source throughout the greater part of Lk xxiii. It is therefore noteworthy that both at the beginning and at the end of the great omission in *S* we find a variation from the common text in *c*. At the end of xxiii 9 *c* adds *quasi non audiens*, which corresponds to ܐܡ ܠܐ ܫܡܥ ܐܡ ܗܘܐ ܟܐܢ in *C*, but is not attested by any other MS, and for xxiii 12 *c* has *Cum essent autem in dissensionem Pilatus et Herodes facti sunt amici in illa die* [*nam antea inimici erant ad inuicem*]. The last clause is probably interpolated into *c* from the Vulgate, but the rest corresponds to a well-known singular reading of D. Thus the passage omitted by *S* was one in which early Western

texts presented great variations from the mass of the later Greek mss. But beyond this it is difficult to make any assertion with confidence, for there can be little doubt that the passage as a whole is a genuine portion of Lk.

xxiii 19, 25 On ܟܕܝܢܐ and ܣܥܝܪܐ see p. 79 *f.*, where it is suggested that the original word may have been ܟܕܝܢܘܬܐ 'sedition.'

xxiii 21 On the verbal suffixes in *S*, see pp. 54–56.

xxiii 34[a] For the reading of *S*, see pp. 195, 215 *f.*

xxiii 38 On ܟܬܒܐ 'tablet,' see pp. 79, 138, 201.

xxiii 43 In this verse *S* agrees with syr.vg in having 'in the Paradise' for ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, while *C* and the Diatessaron have 'in the Garden of Eden': see pp. 199, 185. *S* also agrees with syr.vg against *C* in joining *σήμερον* with *μετ' ἐμοῦ ἔσῃ* and not with Ἀμήν σοι λέγω, but in this second case the other authorities are divided. Ephraim (*Moes.* 244, 245) quotes the words of Jesus three times and each time without the prefixed 'To-day,' as in *C* and in *A* 437. But he says also "Our Lord shortened His distant liberalities and gave a near promise, To-day and not at the End. Thus through a robber was Paradise opened."

The punctuation attested by *C* is referred to but not approved by Barsalibi, who says (in his Commentary on S. Matthew): "Some hold that when He said *To-day* it was not of that Friday that He said that in it the robber should be in Paradise, but at the end of the world; and they read the passage *Amen, amen* (sic), *to-day*, adding a colon (ܟܕܐ ܟܬܒ), and afterwards *With Me thou shalt be in Paradise*, i.e. at the end of the world." But possibly this is an extract from some Greek commentator, for in Greek no change would be required in the text if this view were adopted, while in Syriac it involves the transposition of ܕ from before ܟܬܒ to before ܒܝܬ.

xxiii 48 The quotations given in the apparatus from *Addai* 27 and *Mousinger* 245 make it evident that some reference to the 'judgement' or 'desolation' of Jerusalem stood in the Diatessaron as well as the cry 'Woe to us! What hath befallen us?'

The full reading is preserved in a slightly corrupted form by Cod. Sangermanensis (*g*[1]), which adds to the ordinary text at the end of the verse: *dicentes uae uobis quae facta sunt hodiae propter peccata nostra. adpropinquauit enim desolatio hierusalem.* Here *uobis* is obviously a mistake for *nobis*, and I have little doubt that *hodiae* is a corruption of *nobis* also.

The same cry of Woe appears in the *Gospel of Peter* (§ 7) where we read (after Christ has been taken down from the Cross and His burial): *τότε οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς ἰδόντες οἷον κακὸν ἑαυτοῖς ἐποίησαν ἤρξαντο κόπτεσθαι καὶ λέγειν Οὐαὶ ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἡμῶν· ἤγγισεν ἡ κρίσις καὶ τὸ τέλος Ἰερουσαλήμ.* This sentence and the form of text found in the Diatessaron obviously have a common origin: possibly indeed the *Gospel of Peter* is the original source of the reading.

xxiv 7 ܡܨܠܒ. The agreement of *S* and *C* with syr.vg makes this a convenient point to draw attention to the way in which ܨܠܒ 'to crucify' and ܨܠܝܒܐ 'Cross' are constantly avoided in *S*, ܨܠܒ and ܨܠܝܒܐ being used instead. The noun ܨܠܝܒܐ does not occur in *S*, ܨܠܒ being used in all the eleven places where *S* is extant. In syr.vg ܨܠܝܒܐ occurs 15 out of 17 times, while in *C* ܨܠܝܒܐ occurs 4 times out of 6, *viz.* Matt x 38, xix 21 (an interpolation), Lk ix 23, xiv 27. Its use in Matt xix 21 (= Mk x 21) is supported by Aphraates 392, so that ܨܠܝܒܐ appears to have had a place in the Diatessaron.

The verb *σταυροῦν* occurs 33 or 34 times in the Gospels. By far the commoner Syriac rendering is ܨܠܒ, but ܨܠܝ occurs here in all extant texts. In Joh xix, where syr.vg alone is extant, ܨܠܝ is used for 'crucify, crucify,' in *vv.* 6ab, 15ab, although elsewhere in the chapter ܨܠܒ alone occurs. In Mk ix 12 *S* has ܡܫܠܡ for *ἐξουδενηθῇ*, while syr.vg has ܡܫܬܡܫ, a word which elsewhere stands rather for *ἀποδοκιμάζειν*. It looks almost as if the one Syriac word were derived by mere confusion from the other. In that case we should suppose syr.vg to have retained the genuine reading of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* unchanged and the ܡܫܠܡ of *S* would be a mere corruption of ܡܫܬܡܫ.

The avoidance of ܨܠܝܒܐ in *S* is probably nothing more than a translator's trick, like the avoidance of ܐܠܦ 'ship' and ܩܝܡܬܐ 'resurrection.' I have been unable to make out any difference in meaning between ܨܠܒ and ܨܠܝܒܐ, any more than there is between Rood and Cross. Both words seem ultimately to mean 'a stake.'

xxiv 12 For the reading, see pp. 231*f*. At the end of the verse ܠܒܝܬܗ ܐܙܠ should have been translated 'and he went to his *house*,' not 'and he went away': *cf* Joh i 39.

xxiv 43, 44 The translation given of the text of *S* and *C* is a possible one, but the Latin evidence and that of Clement convinces me that there is no asyndeton at the beginning of *ver.* 44 and that the translation ought to run:

[42]And they gave him a portion of fish broiled [and of honey-comb]. [43]And while he took *and* ate before their eyes [and took up that which was over *and* gave to them] [44]he said to them....

The square brackets represent the portions of text found in *C*, but rightly omitted by *S* with D and *e* as well as ℵB and A.

Clement of Alexandria (p. 174) definitely quotes the passage thus: *ἐπέδωκεν αὐτῷ ἰχθύος ὀπτοῦ μέρος· [43]καὶ φαγὼν ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν [44]εἶπεν αὐτοῖς....* Of the Latins *b* and *ff* have in *vv.* 43, 44, *Et manducans coram ipsis [44]dixit ad eos*, while *e* and the text underlying *c* have *Et accepit coram illis.* [44]*Et dixit illis.* Possibly therefore D is right in reading *καὶ εἶπεν* at the beginning of *ver.* 44, and the *Εἶπεν δὲ* of most Greek MSS is a stylistic alteration to make a paragraph begin with *ver.* 44.

i 1 We see from the text of *C* in i 14 that ܟܠܡܐ *Word* retains its usual gender, even when used in the theological sense, and the text of *C* is borne out by the quotations of Aphraates and S. Ephraim. At the same time the Subject of the Prologue is treated as masculine, as is clear from the opening words of the second verse. As, therefore, in the first clause of the first verse the verb is masculine and ܟܠܡܐ is feminine it is best to take ܟܠܡܐ as the predicate, not as the subject. The grammatical subject, who is at the same time the Subject of the Gospel itself, is unnamed; but it is *asserted* that He was the Word.

It is commonly said that ܟܠܡܐ when it means 'God, the Word,' is treated as masculine, and this is true of later Syriac usage, beginning with Rabbula and the Peshitta itself. But it is not true of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* or of Syriac writers before Rabbula.

Now if ܟܠܡܐ be feminine throughout the Prologue to this Gospel, the reason for the insertion of ܗܘ in the latter clauses of i 1 becomes clear. It is not a mere equivalent for the Greek article, but the actual nominative of the verbs, and ܟܠܡܐ is in apposition to it. This indeed is recognised by syr.vg, for the words are pointed ܟܠܡܐ ܗܘ i.e. *hû mellĕthá*, not ܟܠܡܐ ܗܝ i.e. *hau mellĕthá*. Mr Gwilliam therefore is wrong in translating the words by 'ipsum Verbum'; it should be 'Ipse, Verbum,' in each case.

The theological doctrine associated by S. Ephraim with the name of the Word is best illustrated by the long extracts from his (lost) Homily on Joh i 1, which are quoted in *Lamy* ii 511 and in my *S. Ephraim's Quotations from the Gospel*, pp. 64, 65.

i 3, 4 On the text of S. Ephraim's quotations of i 3^a, see above p. 139. As regards the vexed question of the punctuation of i 3^b, 4, it is evident that *C* ends *v.* 3 with οὐδὲ ἕν, beginning *v.* 4 with ὃ γέγονεν ἐν αὐτῷ ζωὴ ἔστιν. Syr.vg corrects ἔστιν into ἦν and otherwise alters the wording, but continues to join ὃ γέγονεν with ἐν αὐτῷ and not with the preceding οὐδὲ ἕν. At a later period the punctuation was changed, but at the expense of grammar. See the present writer's Note in the *Journ. of Theol. Studies* iv 436, and Mr Gwilliam's Reply iv 606. I leave it to my readers to judge for themselves whether in the sentence

ܠ ܟܬܝܒ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܥܡܗ ܗܘ ܟܠܡܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܘܗܘ ܟܠܡܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܥܡ ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ܟܠܡܐ

they will put the stop after ܗܘ with the late Professor R. L. Bensly and the most ancient MSS, or place it before ܡܢ with Mr Gwilliam and the modern custom.

i 14 It has been shewn above on Joh i 1 and also on pp. 44, 109, 140, that up to the time of Rabbula our Syriac authorities always treat ܟܠܡܐ 'the Word' as feminine, and translate σάρξ by ܦܓܪܐ 'body,' not ܒܣܪܐ 'flesh'; after Rabbula we find ܟܠܡܐ

in this theological sense treated as masculine, and σάρξ rendered in this verse by ܦܓܪܐ, although in the corresponding places in Joh vi syr.vg still has ܒܣܪܐ for σάρξ, like *S* and *C*.

But all our authorities, including syr.vg, translate ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν by ܒܢ ܫܪܐ or ܒܢ ܫܪܐ. It is difficult to ascertain the exact meaning of this phrase, because almost all the instances in Syriac literature of ܫܪܐ construed with ܒ are direct allusions to this very passage. The only exception I can find is a passage in a Homily ascribed to Ephraim (*Ed. Rom.* vi 439 A), where we read ܫܪܐ ܒܬ ܒܬܪ ܒܣܡܐ, i.e. *Make him rest in the best part of thy bed.* This is part of the Christian's duty to his brother on a journey.

Here ܫܪܐ retains its proper transitive force. More often it has the middle sense of 'causing oneself to rest,' like اقام به in Arabic, or the English phrase 'to put up in a place.' But ܫܪܐ thus used generally takes ܠ after it, as in Acts v 15.

As ܫܪܐ with ܒ is so uncommon, we may fairly conclude that the preposition had no very definite connotation and we must deduce the meaning from the Greek it represents and from the context. I have uniformly rendered the phrase 'sojourned among us,' but I venture to think that the translator wished to express rather the dwelling of the Word *in* a human tabernacle than the sojourn of the Word *among* human beings. The verb σκηνοῦν is used elsewhere four times in the New Testament, *viz.* Rev. vii 15, xii 12, xiii 6, xxi 3. In Rev xii 12, xiii 6, where it is followed by ἐν it is used simply for to 'inhabit' a country, and the Syriac has ܫܪܐ with ܒ. In Rev xxi 3 it is used of God dwelling with (μετά) men, and the Syriac has ܫܪܐ with ܥܡ. In Rev vii 15 it is used with ἐπί of the Divine Shekinah, and there we find ܫܪܐ with ܥܠ. I have therefore come to the conclusion that ܒܢ ܫܪܐ.... ܕܐܬܚ means '*The Word...sojourned in our nature,*' rather than 'sojourned among men,' and that '*cast its influence in us*' is wrong.

i 18 For μονογενής, syr.vg has everywhere ܝܚܝܕ, except in Heb xi 17. It also is used in Lk viii 42, ix 38, by *S* and *C*. Here, however, and in Joh iii 16, 18, *C* has ܝܚܝܕ, supported by *S* in iii 16. The meaning is the same, but ܝܚܝܕ passes perhaps rather more easily into a substantive and appears to be so used in Joh iii 18 syr.vg, where for εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ we find ܒܫܡܗ ܕܝܚܝܕ ܒܪ ܐܠܗܐ, which I should be inclined to translate 'in the name of the Only-begotten, the Son of God,' treating ܝܚܝܕ as a substantive. *C* treats μονογενοῦς as an adjective, for it renders the phrase ܒܫܡܗ ܕܒܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܝܚܝܕ, with ܝܚܝܕ at the end. But the original Syriac rendering of this verse may have been ܒܫܡܗ ܕܒܪ ܒܚܝܪ as in *S*, i.e. 'in the name of the approved Son.' No other extant authority supports *S* here, but Joh i 34 shews that there was a tendency to eliminate readings which seemed to savour of 'Adoptionism.'

In Joh i 18 there is no question that μονογενής is genuine; usually we have to choose between μονογενὴς θεός and ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός. But though *C* with ܒܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܝܚܝܕ clearly supports ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός and syr.vg with ܐܠܗܐ ܝܚܝܕ clearly supports [ὁ] μονογενὴς θεός, the Diatessaron appears to have read [ὁ] μονογενής, without either υἱός or θεός. The direct quotation in Ephraim's Commentary (*Moesinger* 3) is borne out by the allusion in Aphraates 115, and it is further attested in Latin by *gat*, one of the group of Vulgate

MSS with 'mixed' texts that we have elsewhere found to agree with Diatessaron readings; see above on Joh x 8 (p. 196).

It is very unfortunate that the leaf of *S* which contained the Prologue to the Fourth Gospel should be missing, but I venture to think it probable that if it had been preserved we should have found that it read ܚܕܐ ܟܝܢ like syr.vg. In cases where the Old Syriac, or one branch of it, agreed with the Alexandrian text (to call the non-Western non-Constantinopolitan text by its truer name), we often find that the Peshitta *retains* the reading unchanged, but there are hardly any instances of the Peshitta taking the Alexandrian side when the Old Syriac supports a reading attested both by the Western and the Constantinopolitan authorities. In Joh i 18 *μονογενὴς θεός* is supported only by ℵBC*L 33 boh aeth in addition to syr.vg and certain Fathers: the presence of syr.vg in this group can only be explained on the hypothesis that it retains unaltered an older Syriac text. At the same time the verse has been otherwise revised into closer conformity with the Greek: ܒܪܝܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ܕܒܝܬ ܐܒܘܗܝ does not sound so primitive a rendering of *ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρός* as the simple ܒܪܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ܕܒܝܬ ܐܒܘܗܝ of *C*.

The fact that *C* supports *ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός* presents no difficulty, as there are many other examples in *C* of revision from later Greek texts. What has happened here is exactly what has happened in Mk xvi 9–20 and Lk x 41, 42, to name the most obvious instances. Probably the ancestor of *C* before it was revised had ܟ[ܘ]ܕ alone, like the Diatessaron.

i 28 ܒܝܬ ܥܒܪܐ. The *seyāmé* marking the plural are here, as in so many other words, not legible in *S*, but there is no reason to suppose that they were originally absent. Possibly the place-name was intended by the translator to sound significant, so that

ܒܝܬ ܥܒܪܬܐ ܕܥܒܪ ܢܗܪܐ ܒܝܬ ܥܒܪܐ

would convey the meaning *at Overstrand, over Jordan River*, rather than *at Beth-'Ebré* or *at Beth-'Ebáré*. In Greek Βηθεβαρᾶ is found in 13&c and Λ-262, but the Syriac pronunciation is more probably indicated by the Armenian բեթաբարա, i.e. *Bethabré* or *Bethebré*, without a vowel between *b* and *r*. The true Diatessaron reading is unknown, the Arabic having *Bethany* in agreement with the Peshitta.

This reading of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* would be hardly worth separate notice but for the suspicion that the reading Βηθαβαρᾷ for Βηθανίᾳ was first introduced into the Greek text of the Gospel by Origen. It might therefore be urged that the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* was later than Origen, later therefore than about 230 AD.[1] But this is extremely unlikely in itself, in view of the general character of the text. It is equally unlikely that any reading adopted by Origen should have been derived by him from a Syriac source.

We must therefore assume that *Bethabara* (or its equivalent) was adopted by the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* and by Origen from a common source. This source seems to have been not documentary evidence, but local identification. In Origen's case this is distinctly stated (Orig. *in Joan.* iv 140, ed. Brooke i 158): he tells us that he is

[1] See Baethgen, *Evangelienfragmente*, p. 83.

sure we ought to read not *Bethania* but *Bethabara*, γενόμενοι ἐν τοῖς τόποις ἐπὶ ἱστορίαν τῶν ἰχνῶν Ἰησοῦ καὶ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν προφητῶν. That a similar archaeological interest underlies the Old Syriac is obvious, otherwise we should never have had the identifications of Κανά with *Câṭnê*, of Ναζαρέτ with *Nâṣrath*, or the careful spelling of the Syriac equivalents for Βηθανία, Βηθφαγή, Βηθζαθά, Βηθσαιδά, Χοραζείν, and other comparatively obscure names. Whether the identifications implied are always correct is another matter; but it is evident that a serious attempt has been made to give the names correctly, in marked contrast to the Western indifference of the Latin texts.

The Old Syriac version of the Gospels is the earliest evidence we possess for the beginnings of the cult of the Holy Places, a cult which attained so great a vogue in the fourth and succeeding centuries. The cult, of course, was not really archaeological, but was grounded in the wish to obtain the special benefit of each sacred spot. It is therefore interesting to note that among the first places to attract notice was the reputed scene of the Baptism of Jesus. It was here that many of the faithful went to receive baptism themselves, a custom which goes back to the sources of the *Onomastica* (Lagarde *OS* 108, 240), i.e. to the times of Origen. Among those who were so baptized was Rabbula, afterwards bishop of Edessa.

The identification of the scene of the Baptism with the traditional site five Roman miles from the mouth of the Jordan does not seem to find favour with modern scholars. What the tradition was based on it is impossible to say, but in any case it had very little to do with the literary tradition of the Fourth Gospel. We cannot doubt that the author of the Fourth Gospel wrote 'Bethany beyond Jordan.' On the other hand we have the cult of 'Bethabara,' developed before the time of Origen, perhaps at a pre-Christian holy place. The cult led to the identification of 'Bethany' with 'Bethabara,' and finally it influenced some texts of the Gospel.

i 34 ܚܕ̈ܝܪ ܡܫܝܚܐ is the reading both of *S* and of *C*, corresponding to ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, the reading of ℵ* al^{v} *e*. Most documents have ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, the 'European' Latin variously combining the two readings.

The accession of *S* to the list of authorities for ἐκλεκτός ought, I think, to incline us to accept it. Its disappearance is only too easily accounted for, as there appears to have been an unwillingness to call our Lord 'the Chosen of God.' It appeared to be an 'Adoptionist' phrase, or at least to imply that there was a time or state in which He existed before God chose Him. Thus in Lk ix 35 ἀγαπητός is substituted for ἐκλελεγμένος in all documents except *S* and ℵBLΞ 1 274^{mg} *a ff l* vg.codd aeg aeth^{cod} arm.

This evident dislike on the part of later scribes and editors to words which seem to imply choice or approval of Jesus Christ by the Father may lead us to look favourably on the reading of *S* in Joh iii 18 where it has 'the approved Son' (ܒܪ ܚܝܪ) though all other authorities have τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ. The text now represented only by *S* would have provoked alteration, and the language of iii 16, where τὸν υἱὸν τὸν μονογενῆ is certainly genuine, contained materials for a safe alternative.

iii 5 'from spirit and water'] The Greek is ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος, and this is followed in *Moes.* 189. In *v.* 8, where the best text has ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος only (but ℵ

and the Old Latin have ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος), *S* has 'from water and spirit' and *C* has 'from water and from spirit.' These variations in rendering, and the transposition of 'spirit' and 'water' by *S* in *v.* 5, may be explained if we suppose that the original form of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* (or the Greek text underlying it) omitted the mention of 'water' in each case. See Professor Lake's inaugural address at Leiden (Jan. 27, 1904), in which it is argued that ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ is an early interpretative gloss in Joh iii 5, and that the text known to Justin Martyr was still free from it.

iii 6 "That which is born from flesh is flesh, *because from flesh it is born* (α); and that which is born from spirit is spirit, *because God is a spirit* (β), *and from God it hath been born* (γ)." Calling α, β and γ the three clauses omitted by virtually all our Greek MSS (D is deficient here), we may arrange their attestation as follows:

α β γ	= *C*	*a j*	vg.codd	Tert. *Carn. Chr* § 18
β (only)	= *S*	*m aur*		Hil ²/₂
α β	=	*e ff r*	vg.cod	Amb
α (only)	=	*b l q**		
α γ	=	161*		

Nemesianus of Thubunae has β γ, which we may take as virtually an attestation for all three glosses, but Cyprian ²/₂ omits them all.

It is very difficult to account for the distribution of the evidence. But for *S* it might have been thought that all three glosses belonged together, and this is probably true so far as the West is concerned. We see from their omission in Cyprian that they were recognised as accretions and therefore excised from the more careful texts; what has happened completely in Cyprian has happened more or less with most of the Old Latin texts. But we may fairly take the evidence of *S* to shew that in the East β had a place in the text before α and γ were added.

As is well known, S. Ambrose (*de Spir.* iii 11) accuses the Arians of having cut out the clause *quia Deus spiritus est* from this verse. The accusation is very likely true in the sense that some Arian scholars may have excised the clause for the same reason that S. Jerome suppressed it in the Vulgate, *viz.* that approved and standard Greek MSS did not contain the words. But even if the presence of the clause in *S* be not held sufficient to establish its authenticity, we may at least use it to shew that neither *S* itself nor its immediate ancestor has been deliberately mutilated at important dogmatic passages, an accusation that has been actually made on the ground of the unfortunate loss of the leaves containing the end of S. Matthew and the beginning of S. John.

In a minor point *S* may indeed have suffered. It differs from the Western texts in gloss β by adding the adjective 'living' to 'Spirit,' reading

There is rather an unusual distance between the last two letters, and the photograph suggests to me that possibly a letter has been washed out. Now ܪܘܚܐ is almost invariably feminine in the Old Syriac (see on Mk v 8, Lk viii 29), and when it means the Holy Spirit it is always feminine, save in this passage. Perhaps therefore *S* read

originally ܚܝܐ to agree with ܪܘܚܐ. As the text stands it might be translated 'Because God the Spirit is living.' See also p. 44, note[4].

iii 13 Note that neither in *S* or *C*, nor in the Diatessaron, is there any attestation for the ordinary form of the clause ὁ ὢν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ.

iii 16 On the rendering of μονογενής, see the Note on Joh i 18. In reading 'to send' instead of 'to give' *S* agrees with *e ff aur*; while *Moesinger* 258 in omitting the word agrees with ℵ*, but this is probably a mere coincidence. The ἔδωκεν of *C* and the ordinary text is no doubt genuine. In fact it invites change, for it suggests the question 'to whom?'

iii 18 The rendering of τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ by ܒܪ ܚܕ ܕܝܬ in *S* is very curious. There is no trace of the omission of τοῦ θεοῦ elsewhere or of a variant ἐκλεκτοῦ for μονογενοῦς. The elimination of ἐκλεκτός and ἐκλελεγμένος elsewhere in the Gospels when applied to our Lord, together with the occurrence of μονογενής in Joh iii 16, makes it not improbable that *S* has preserved the true reading of this passage: see further on Joh i 18.

iii 22, 23 The Greek is quite clear: it reads διέτριβεν μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐβάπτιζεν. [23]ἦν δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννης βαπτίζων ἐν Αἰνών, so that *C* gives the correct translation. The text of *S* is in confusion, caused by the use of ܒܬܟ for διατρίβειν. ܒܬܟ 'to dwell' and ܒܬܟ 'to be baptized' appear to have been mistaken one for the other in the ancestor of *S*. Possibly *C* has been emended from the Greek: yet in Joh xi 54 *S* also renders διατρίβειν by ܥܡܗܝ.

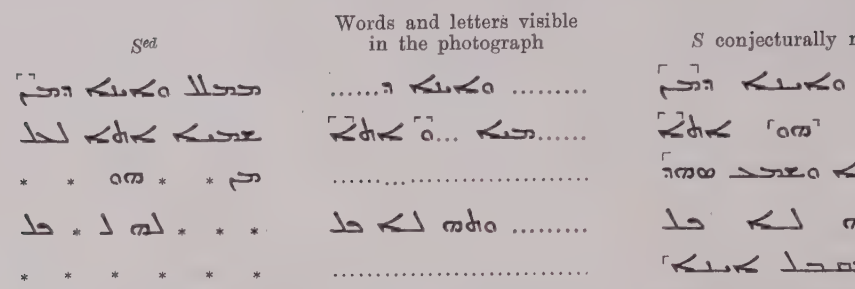
A somewhat similar variant is to be found in *v.* 18, where ܚܝܒ 'guilty' is substituted by *C* for ܕܝܢ 'judged' (= κέκριται), perhaps to avoid confusion with ܕܝܢ 'but.' In this latter case, however, the text of *S* is both grammatical and correct.

There seem to have been many opinions as to the meaning of Αἰνών. *S* and Arabic versions generally think of 'Fish Well,' *C* and syr.vg of 'Dove Well,' Eusebius (*OS* 177) has πηγὴ δυνάμεως and Jerome *fons eorum*. The Palestinian Syriac Lectionary has ܥܝܢ.

iii 25 ܥܡ ܝܗܘܕܝܐ ܚܕ *S*. The plural points are not legible in *S*, so that it is impossible to discover whether *S* read μετὰ Ἰουδαίων with *C* or μετὰ Ἰουδαίου with syr.vg and the majority of Greek MSS.

iii 31, 32 The text here adopted by Westcott and Hort is ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐρχόμενος [ἐπάνω πάντων ἐστίν·] ὃ ἑώρακεν καὶ ἤκουσεν [τοῦτο] μαρτυρεῖ, but the words I have bracketed are omitted by *C* in company with ℵ*D 1&c 565 latt.

I give below (1) the text of S^{ed}, (2) what I see in the photograph and (3) a suggested restoration.



It will be noticed that even when we suppose *S* to have had the shorter reading found in *C* there is hardly room for all the words. Probably ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ was omitted. It is impossible to get the words required for the longer reading into the space, so that in this case also we are justified in supposing that the Old Syriac sides with א* and D and not with B and the Received Text (see above, p. 232).

iv 1 In the various reading between ὁ κύριος and ὁ Ἰησοῦς in the first part of the verse *S* is, strictly speaking, neutral, as in the early part of the Fourth Gospel *S* regularly uses 'our Lord' for 'Jesus' (see above, p. 97). On the other hand, it clearly attests ἦ before Ἰωάννης, and omits the second Ἰησοῦς found in the Greek before πλείονας μαθητάς.

The ܕ put before ܡܪܢ in S^{ed} must surely be wrong. I should be inclined to omit it and to read

ܡܪܝ ܗܘ | ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܟܐܦܐ | ܡܪܢ ܗܘ | ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܝܘܚܢܢ

iv 3 ܡܬܐܡܪ. On the construction, see p. 70.

iv 9 On the reading of *S*, see p. 254.

iv 24 On the texts of *S* and *C*, see p. 218*f.*

iv 25 On the relation of *S* and *C* to the Diatessaron in this passage, see p. 214.

iv 35 The Sinai fragments of the Acts of Thomas are said to have ܫܠܚ ܢܦܫ for ܢܦܫ ܫܠܚܬ, and Mrs Lewis's edition does not recognise the ܐ before ܕܡܪ ܒܪܗ. I certainly thought however that the ܡ did not stand on the extreme right of the line, i.e. that a letter now illegible stood before the ܡ. The form ܫܠܚ (pl.) is not recognised by Nöldeke, and ܢܦܫ is a form we should not have expected in so early a MS: possibly the ܬ may have been added later, as is so often the case with these 3rd fem. pl. perfects.

v 3, 4 On the reading of the Diatessaron, see pp. 195, 215*f.*

v 18, 19 On the reading of S^{ed}, see vol. i, p. 553. The photograph is illegible and the doubts I have expressed as to ܟܐܦܐ and the end of *v.* 19 are purely subjective. But I am confident that *S* has not been correctly deciphered here, and that its readings agree much more closely with *C* than the printed text testifies.

v 27, 28 The Peshitta has ܗܕܐ ܕܡܪܝܡ ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ[28] ܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܗܘ ܡܫܝܚܐ, i.e. it connects the words *That He is the Son of Man* with *Wonder not at this* which immediately follows, instead of joining the clause to the rest of *v.* 27, as in *C*.

In this view of the passage syr.vg sides with S. Chrysostom, while the alternative adopted by *C*, by the Old Latin and by Origen, was that defended by Paul of Samosata. S. Chrysostom says (viii 264): "Paul of Samosata does not interpret the passage thus, but 'He gave him authority to do judgement, because he is son of man.' But it has no coherence punctuated thus, for it is not because He is Man that He received judicial authority, or why did He forbid all men to be judges? But since He is Son of the ineffable Substance, therefore is He judge. Thus therefore we must read: 'That He is Son of Man, wonder not at this'." The Peshitta, and the Armenian also, took the advice of S. Chrysostom, but the English versions follow the tradition championed by the great heresiarch of Antioch.

See also p. 225.

vi 4 In view of Dr Hort's Note on this verse suggesting that τὸ πάσχα is an early interpolation, it is advisable to ascertain as accurately as possible what text the Syriac renderings represent. The transmitted Greek text is ἦν δὲ ἐγγὺς τὸ πάσχα, ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων. With this *C* agrees, rendering τὸ πάσχα by ܦܨܚܐ (see above, p. 79). In *S* we find τὸ πάσχα ἡ ἑ. τῶν Ἰ. rendered by ܕܥܝܕܐ ܕܦܛܝܪܐ ܕܚܡܝܪܐ *the Feast of the Unleavened Bread of the Jews*, and this is practically supported by syr.vg, except that syr.vg has ܦܨܚܐ *Passover* instead of ܦܛܝܪܐ *Unleavened Bread*.

At first sight we may be tempted to treat this as a clear case of interpolation. The word corresponding to τὸ πάσχα differs in each of our three authorities, so that we might conclude that it had been separately inserted into each. On reflexion, however, I do not think that view probable. I now think that *S* preserves the original text of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*, and that it is merely a characteristically loose rendering of the ordinary Greek text.

It is certainly very curious that while ܦܨܚܐ occurs in the Synoptic Gospels for τὸ πάσχα, in S. John *S* renders it by ܦܛܝܪܐ. Yet this is the case in Joh ii 23, vi 4, xii 1, xiii i, xviii 28. *S* omits the term in xi 55 and is not extant in ii 13, xix 14. In all these cases ܦܨܚܐ is substituted by syr.vg. That *S* should have ܦܛܝܪܐ and syr.vg ܦܨܚܐ in Joh vi 4, where the Greek has τὸ πάσχα, is therefore normal. At the same time syr.vg supports *S* in rendering τὸ πάσχα ἡ ἑορτὴ as if it were ἡ ἑορτὴ τοῦ πάσχα. But in so rendering, *S* is only doing what it has already done in Joh ii 23, where ἐν τῷ πάσχα ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ is rendered 'in the days of the Feast of unleavened Bread.'

Thus *S* in this verse gives a characteristic paraphrase of the ordinary Greek text, syr.vg gives a more or less revised version of *S*, while *C* represents an independent revision from the Greek. But all three texts go back to a Greek text which contained τὸ πάσχα, and therefore they cannot add anything to Dr Hort's ingenious plea for its omission.

vi 30 ff. On the absence of punctuation here in *C*, see p. 14 and the plates, pp. 38, 39.

vi 40 On the form ܐܡܬܬܚܙܘ in *S*, see p. 55.

vi 63 The text of *S* is obviously an interpretative paraphrase: so far as I know, no trace is found of it elsewhere. The text of *C* implies the insertion of ἡ before ἡ σάρξ or else the omission of τὸ before the first πνεῦμα (as in ℵ*). In the latter case ܗܘ must be regarded as in the apodosis, so that the meaning is 'That which gives life is πνεῦμα, otherwise σάρξ matters nothing.'

In *S* ܗܘ is certainly in the apodosis: see on Joh i 1 and iii 6. ܕܡܬܐ is fem. agreeing with ܗܘ, but ܡ is masc. The subject therefore must be understood from the previous sentence, i.e. it must be the 'Son of Man' mentioned in *v.* 62.

vi 71 The name of 'Judas Iscariot' is always spelt ܐܣܩܪܝܘܬܐ in *S*. The name occurs eleven times in the Gospels, but it so happens that only in three places *C* is extant. One of these is Joh xiv 22, where 'Iscariot' is omitted both by *S* and by *C*. The other two are Lk xxii 3 and Joh vi 71, and in both *C* has ܐܣܩܪܝܘܬܐ.

The MSS of syr.vg are divided. ܐܣܩܪܝܘܬܐ is much the commonest form, but ܐܣܩܪܝܘܬܐ occurs $^1/_3$ in Gwilliam's 20, and $^1/_{10}$ in Gwilliam's 14. ܐܣܩܪܝܘܬ occurs $^2/_{10}$ in 14, and $^1/_4$ in 15*, and $^3/_3$ in the very ancient MS called 18 by Gwilliam. The form ܐܣܩܪܝܘܬܐ occurs once in Gwilliam's 3 4 9 17 19 23 and twice in 36; of more importance perhaps is the fact that ܐܣܩܪܝܘܬܐ occurs in Aphraates *B*, p. 404, where the other MS has the ordinary spelling ܐܣܩܪܝܘܬ. There is so little variation as a rule in the Syriac spellings of proper names, that it seemed worth while to draw attention to these, but it is difficult to discover any principle underlying them. It is fairly evident that the Syriac versions do not profess to interpret the name 'Iscariot.'

vii 37 The point found both in *S* and in *C* after ܐܬܝ shews that the Syriac exegetical tradition here agreed with that of the English Bible; thus it differed from that current in early times in the West, whereby 'whosoever believeth in me' was treated as the subject of 'let him drink,' and the latter part of the verse was interpreted of our Lord, not of the believer.

vii 49 ܥܡܐ *the mob* (so *C*). As explained in vol. i, p. 554, and vol. ii, pp. 81, 83, the reading of *S* is now known to be ܦܪܨ *praters*, possibly a miswriting of ܒܪܨ *outsiders*, as in Mk iv 11.

viii 57 On the reading, see p. 228.

ix 34 On the use of ܟܠܡ with suffixes to express ὅλως, see pp. 59, 251.

x 22 On the phrase ܕܚܢܟܐ ܒܝܬ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ as an equivalent for τὰ ἐγκαίνια see p. 80.

xi 18 The 'two parasangs' which I seem to read in *S* may be compared with the description of Bethany in the *Itineraries* as *forsitan secundo miliario a ciuitate* ('Siluiae Peregrinatio' § 29), or as S. Jerome puts it *uilla in secundo ab Aelia miliario* (Lagarde *OS* 108). Two parasangs would be somewhat too far, and in any case the use of the Persian term would be odd, but the word is certainly not ܦܪܣܢ.

xi 25 On the reading, see p. 237, and vol. i, p. 555. I think there can be little doubt that *S* reads ܚܝܐ, not ܢܚܝܐ as syr.vg, but I thought it right to indicate the possibility of the alternative. In either case it is certain that *S* omits καὶ ἡ ζωή.

xi 45, 46 The forms ܕܐܡܪܝܢ in *v.* 45 and ܕܐܡܪ̈ܝܢ in *v.* 46 are both certain: see p. 51.

xii 8 On the omission of this verse in *S* and Codex Bezae, see p. 238.

xii 43 There is no authority for omitting the second τὴν δόξαν, but there is no room for it in *S*. If we omit the second ܫܒܚܐ we should also probably omit the ܕ before ܡܢ: on the curiously loose construction often used in comparisons in Syriac, see p. 60.

xii 48 The ܕ ܕܡܬܚܫܒ at the beginning of this verse in S^{cd} corresponds to ὁ ἀθετῶν in the Greek. There is no trace elsewhere of a various reading. Of the corrections of S^{ed} which I have suggested, ܕ ܕܡܬܚܫܠ is the more natural word, and is used for ἀθετεῖν in Gal iii 15 syr.vg; it would more accurately correspond to ἀποδοκιμάζειν. ܕ ܕܡܬܚܠܦ is still nearer the letters of S^{ed}, but it would mean καταργεῖν (yet *cf* Heb ix 26 syr.vg).

xiii 5 On the use of ܣܦܘܓ for νιπτήρ, see pp. 79, 142, 201.

xiii 22 ܐܡܪ (*S*^{ed}) is a quite impossible word, and the fact that the ܐ begins a line in *S*, ranging exactly with the other letters which begin lines in that column, shews that *S** simply read ܕ ܐܡܪ | ܕ ܕܐ. As suggested in the footnotes to the text, the writing visible in front of ܕ is probably part of the word ܠܡ, inserted to indicate the grammatical correction ܕ ܐܡܪ or ܕ ܠܡ ܕ, instead of ܕ ܕ.

xiv 1 The syntactical construction in *S* is the same as that of the sentence quoted by Nöldeke § 272 from Cureton's *Spicilegium* 13^{6}. ܐ ܐܢ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܝ means 'Shew me this and I will believe thee,' i.e. '*If* you shew me this, *then* I will believe you.' Similarly

ܕܐܡܪ ܒܐܠܗܐ ܐܡ ܐܦ ܒܝ ܕܬܗܝܡܢ ܐܡ ܕܐܡܪ

means '*If* you believe in God, *then* you will believe in Me.'

The Peshitta, on the other hand, takes πιστεύετε as an imperative in each case, making the sentence two independent commands joined by the copula, *viz.* 'Believe in God and believe in Me.' That *S* here correctly reproduces the Old Syriac is clear from the evidence of Marutha, quoted above on p. 159.

xiv 17 On the gender of ܪܘܚܐ *Spirit*, see pp. 44, 108. ܦܪܩܠܛܐ *Paraclete* is masculine, but as soon as the Spirit is mentioned all the verbs referring to the Comforter are put in the feminine.

xiv 22 On the name *Judas Thomas*, see p. 146 *f.*

xv 1, 5 On ܓܦܢܐ ܕܫܪܪܐ *the Vineyard of Truth*, see pp. 143 *f.*, 151, 198.

xviii 1 ܒܛܪ ܢܚܠܐ. This description of 'Cedron' is almost equally surprising whether we take ܢܚܠܐ in its ordinary sense of 'hill,' or in the sense of ἀγρός, 'open country,' discussed on p. 82. Elsewhere *Cedron* is always the name of the torrent or the ravine through which the torrent flows. Thus ܢܚܠܐ can hardly be an editorial gloss. Neither can it be a mere peculiarity of *S*, as is proved by the occurrence of قدرون الجبل in Diat^{ar} xlviii 1. Probably therefore it represents a variation in the Greek τοῦ Κεδρών, ὄρους ὅπου κ.τ.λ. But however the reading originated, it can hardly be anything but a mistake.

So far as the evidence goes, the Syriac versions seem to favour τοῦ Κεδρών. At least no Syriac text supports either the Western reading τοῦ Κέδρου, followed by Tischendorf, or that of the Received Text τῶν Κέδρων, followed by Westcott and Hort.

xviii 10 For the name *Malku*, see also on p. 57.

xviii 13–24 In the *Journal of Theological Studies* ii 141 *f.* Mr C. H. Turner suggests that the leaf of *e*, which contained this passage but is now lost, having been cut out at some very remote time, may have exhibited the order of the verses now found in *S*. There is however one piece of evidence which makes against this view. In Joh xviii 28 the majority of Latin texts most curiously have *ad Caiphan* for *a Caipha*. This reading is the opposite of that of *S*. According to the ordinary text, Jesus is examined by Annas (*vv.* 19—23), then taken to the house of Caiaphas (*v.* 24), and from thence to the Praetorium; according to *S*, Jesus is taken to Annas, sent on at once to Caiaphas, the examination by Annas being transferred to Caiaphas, and then sent on to the Praetorium. But according to the Latins who read *ad* for *a* in xviii 28, Jesus does not go to the house of Caiaphas at all, but Caiaphas appears to meet the prisoner outside the Praetorium. Now *e* is among the Latin texts which read *ad Caiphan* instead of *a Caipha*. According to *e*, therefore, Jesus does not meet Caiaphas until both have arrived just outside the Praetorium; consequently in the missing page the examination must have been conducted by Annas, as in the ordinary text, and not by Caiaphas himself, as in *S*.

It is very striking to find this rearrangement in the text of *S*, seeing that there is no trace of it in our Diatessaron authorities.

xx 23 The words ܡܢ ܕܫܒܩ ܠܗܘܢ ܚܛܗܝܗܘܢ ܫܒܝܩܝܢ ܠܗ ܡܢ correspond to ἄν τινος (*or* τινων) κρατῆτε κεκράτηνται. Here both ܚܛܗܝܗܘܢ and ܫܒܩ are in the singular, so they cannot refer to 'sins.' ܫܒܩ is not often followed by ܠ, but when it is it has the sense of 'to shut' (except in the phrase ܠ ܚܫܚ ܠ ܫܒܩ 'to have a grudge against'), e.g. Ps lxix 16

ܠܐ ܬܣܟܪ ܠ ܒܪ ܫܒܩ ܠ ܦܘܡܗ ܥܠܝ

Let not the pit shut its mouth upon me.

This example shews that ܠ ܫܒܩ may mean 'to shut *in*' as well as 'to shut *out*.' Thus we might translate in Joh xx 23 'He whom ye shall shut up, he is shut up.'

xxi 5 On the construction of ܕܢܬܝ ܠܚܠܚܐ ܕܡ, see p. 65 *f.*

xxi 15–17 Neither *S* nor syr.vg makes any distinction in these verses between ἀγαπᾶν and φιλεῖν, but the words for the 'Flock' are curiously varied. The Greek words are ἀρνία in *v.* 15 and πρόβατα or προβάτια in *vv.* 16 and 17. The Syriac words are ܟܪܝܐ 'lambs' (= ἀρνία), ܥܕܪ 'flock,' ܥܕܐ 'sheep' and ܢܩܝܐ 'ewes.' Either of the last three might stand for πρόβατα, e.g. in Matt ix 36, x 6, *S* has ܥܕܪ where syr.vg has ܥܕܐ. ܢܩܝܐ, like *ouis* in Latin, is feminine; I have regularly translated it by 'ewe,' but it should be clearly stated that it has not the definite indication of sex which belongs to 'ewe' in English.

The Syriac evidence may be tabulated thus

	Syr.vg	*S*	*A* 195
15	ܟܪܝܐ	ܟܪܝܐ	ܥܕܪ
16	ܥܕܐ	ܢܩܝܐ	ܥܕܐ (*A*^{a}), ܟܪܝܐ (*A*^{b})
17	ܢܩܝܐ	ܥܕܐ	ܢܩܝܐ

Of the Latins, the Vulgate has *agnos—agnos—oues*, while *a c d e r* actually use *oues* in all three places, with which goes D, which has πρόβατα $^{3}/_{3}$. The main critical conclusion we can draw from the Syriac evidence is that it gives no support to the reading πρόβατα in *v.* 15, as ܟܪܝܐ must stand for ἀρνία μου, and *A* 195 which has ܥܕܪ is not a formal quotation. An ancient (Greek) source, quoted by Theophanes (circ. 800 AD) and by Ambrose^{luc} appears to have read ἀρνία—προβάτια—πρόβατα, and it is not unlikely that the Syriac evidence points to the use of these terms.

Subscription of S. This is fully discussed on p. 31 *ff.* It only remains to add that S. Ephraim also speaks of the Persons of the Trinity as God and His Messiah and His Holy Spirit in the Doxology at the end of his Commentary on Genesis (*Ed. Rom.* iv 115 D), where the MS reads ܠܡܫܝܚܗ ܘܠܪܘܚܗ and not ܠܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܠܪܘܚܗ, as I have ascertained through the ever-ready kindness of Dr G. Mercati of the Vatican Library. The sentence therefore runs

ܠܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ.....ܠܗ ܠܡܫܝܚܗ ܘܠܪܘܚܗ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ
ܫܒܚܐ ܘܝܩܪܐ ܒܥܕܢܐ ܕܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܘܠܥܠܡܝ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܘܐܡܝܢ.

To God, then,.....to Him and to His Messiah and to His Holy Spirit
be glory and honour, now and at all times and for ever and ever, Amen and Amen.

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